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VOL. VIII

THE

NO. I

# ART BULLETIN

An Illustrated Quarterly published by  
the College Art Association of America

*September 1925*



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New York University : Washington Square, New York

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- ☞ Address all communications to the College Art Association of America, New York University, Washington Square, New York.



# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. VIII No. 1

SEPTEMBER 1925

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

EDITOR : JOHN SHAPLEY

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# THE ART BULLETIN

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FIG. 1—*An Example of the Illusion of Depth which can be Obtained Photographically*



FIG. 2—*Boston, Gardner Collection: Landscape, by Rembrandt*



# DEPTH IN PICTORIAL ART

BY A. AMES, JR.

## I. INTRODUCTION

THE study which is the subject of this paper was made possible by more sensitive and definite methods of observing depth effects in pictures than have formerly been used. Though many of the effects which will be described have been appreciated before, their existence was more often felt than known and the want of methods of positive demonstration made a clear analysis of the matter very difficult.

It is therefore necessary to begin by describing briefly these improved methods of observing depth effects. Their development resulted from a study of the illusion of depth in single pictures. A full description of this work is given in a paper of a rather technical nature recently published in the *Journal of the Optical Society of America*.<sup>1</sup>

The various ways there described by which the illusion of depth from a picture may be increased are as follows:

1. Looking at a picture with one eye only.
  2. Looking at a picture through an iconoscope. (An iconoscope is an instrument through which you look with two eyes from the point of view of a single eye.)
  3. Viewing a picture from a greater distance.
  4. Changing the convergence of the eyes from that normally required by the distance from which the picture is viewed. (This is done by placing prisms before the eyes.)
  5. Looking at a picture through a small hole, 2 mm. or more in diameter, held close to the eye.
  6. Changing the accommodation of the eyes from that normally required by the distance from which the picture is viewed. (This is done by putting spherical lenses before the eyes.)
  7. Looking at a picture binocularly, one eye receiving a sharp image and the other a blurred one. (The best effect is obtained by blurring one image by a plus cylinder with its axis vertical.)
  8. Looking at the reflection of a picture in a mirror, or through any instrument which limits the field and gives an uncertain point of view.
  9. Looking at a picture with abnormal rotation of the visual images about the axes of vision. (This is done by a rather complicated arrangement of mirrors.)
- Speaking broadly, the reason<sup>2</sup> these means increase the illusion of depth is that they interfere with, and in some cases quite prevent, the observer's judging the position of

1. *The Illusion of Depth from Single Pictures*, *Journ. Opt. Soc. of Amer.*, 1925, X, 2, p. 137.

2. For more complete explanation the reader is referred to the above-mentioned paper.

the canvas or paper on which the picture is painted. Where two eyes are used this is accomplished largely by preventing the functioning of binocular vision. When the observer is made uncertain as to the position of the plane of the picture he is no longer forced to realize that all the objects depicted are on one and the same plane. That is, he becomes liberated from the plane of the canvas. The objects depicted will then take positions in front of or behind one another as suggested by their relative sizes, perspective, and so forth.

The extent of the illusion of depth that we may get from a given picture depends upon which of the means we use in viewing it. The most marked effect is obtained by a combination of prisms, spherical lenses, a cylindrical lens, and looking at the picture in a mirror.<sup>3</sup> This, however, is too complicated for general use. The simplest method which produces the most marked illusion is to look at a picture with a cylindrical lens held before one eye. The strength of the lens must be proper for the viewing distance and its axis must be vertical. Both eyes are employed in looking at the picture. The effect obtained approximates that which one gets with a stereoscope. Objects stand out clearly in their proper planes with intervening space between. There are the following means which, though more simple than the use of the cylinder, are not nearly so effective. They are: first, looking at a picture with one eye only; second, looking at it from a greater distance; third, looking at it in a mirror; fourth, looking at it through a small hole in a piece of black paper; and fifth, looking at it through a tube made of black paper.<sup>4</sup>

In making the studies which are the basis of this paper I used the cylindrical lens, as the most convenient, sensitive, and definite method of observing depth effects. I regret that neither can the depth effects which our reproductions illustrate be fully experienced, nor can the significance of this investigation be grasped unless the pictures and figures are looked at with such a cylindrical lens. I recommend that anyone who is interested in the technique of art get one and reread the paper, using the lens to study the illustrations.<sup>5</sup>

## II. EXAMPLES OF ILLUSION OF DEPTH

Almost any good photograph produces a considerable illusion of depth, as can be confirmed by looking at it with a cylinder or depth lens. This depth is naturally more

3. This combination is described in the article cited.

4. For this simple and convenient device we are indebted to Mr. Edwin M. Blake. The principle is the same as that which is involved when looking through an instrument and is described in the article above-mentioned.

5. Either a plus or a minus cylinder is effective. A plus cylinder, however, is recommended. For general use a plus 2.50 D cylinder works very well. For viewing pictures two or three feet away the lens is held a number of inches from the eye. For viewing at greater distances the lens is brought back nearer to the eye.

For use at distances less than those mentioned a stronger lens (+3.D or +3.5D) should be used; for use at greater distances a weaker one (+2.D or +1.5D). One must remember to hold the axis (which is usually marked by two lines on the glass) in a vertical position and to look with two eyes just as if the lens were not there. It should be placed in front of the less perfect eye. These lenses may be conveniently obtained for a reasonable price, under the name of "depth lenses," from Pinkham and Smith Co., 292 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

As to the question of whether the use of such a lens





FIG. 3—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Banks of the Oise, by Daubigny*



FIG. 4—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Holland Cattle, by Troyon*



FIG. 5—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Young Girl Asleep*,  
by Vermeer



FIG. 6—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Landscape*,  
by Daubigny



marked where the picture is of objects at varying distances and is most marked when there are objects in the immediate foreground. The photograph shown in Fig. 1<sup>6</sup> gives a very pronounced illusion. Not only do the trees stand out with great distance between them and the background but the branches themselves stand away from one another. When the lens is removed from the eye the distance tends to collapse and the whole picture to become flat.

If we look at a painting with a cylinder or depth lens we get a similar effect—that is, granting that the picture has been properly painted. The illusion is very well shown by the painting of a landscape by Rembrandt (Fig. 2). The obelisk stands well out from the distant background and the trees on the right appear nearer than the obelisk.

If, however, the artist has made a mistake it will show up much more clearly with the depth lens than without it. The reason for this is that when the depth in a picture, or the separation of its various planes, is increased the failure of any depicted object to lie in its proper plane becomes much more evident. A very good illustration of how such defects are made more evident is illustrated in the picture by Daubigny (Fig. 3). When looked at with the depth lens it will be seen that the high lights on the water over the ducks instead of being on the surface are floating in the air at some distance above the ducks. In another picture by Daubigny (Fig. 6) the flecks on the water take their place perfectly except for one large fleck near the left bank of the brook, which seems too light in value and raises the surface of the water at that point.

Another illustration of a detail in a painting coming out of its proper plane is shown in a painting by Vermeer (Fig. 5). The wall and door frame on the right instead of being back where they belong seem to be right up against the chair.

These illustrations are examples of numerous similar, though perhaps less pronounced, mistakes which may be found by studying the works of the great masters with the depth lens. More marked mistakes can be found in the works of living artists, even of the conservative school. I recommend such a study of the works of both ancient and modern masters as most interesting and instructive.<sup>7</sup> Many of these defects are evident without the use of the depth lens. Others cause one to feel that something is wrong in the picture but one is not sure what the trouble is until the lens has been used. In all cases, once the defect has been seen with the lens it is very evident thereafter to the unaided eyes.

will produce eye strain, I can only say I have used one almost daily for about a year and have noticed no effect whatsoever.

It may be possible that persons with considerable ametropia will get no effect. In such a case a cylinder could be prescribed which would produce the same effect as that produced on a person with normal vision by the cylinders described above.

6. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. R. E. Clark, of Washington, D. C., for permission to publish this photograph.

7. Other examples of pictures in which depicted objects do not keep in their proper plane are:

a. Rubens, *Couronnement de Marie de Médicis*, Louvre. In a reproduction which I have of the head of Marie de Médicis the collar on the further side of her neck comes too far forward and the modeling of the upper arm is not right. I have not studied the original picture; these defects may be due to faulty reproduction.

b. Corot, *Noon*, National Gallery, London. In the reproduction of this picture the leaves on the trees in

The depth lens, showing up such defects, is an aid to artists in painting. It serves much the same purpose as a mirror but is more effective due to the greater illusion of depth which it produces. It is also somewhat easier to use, and a painter can actually work on his canvas while looking through the depth lens, as he cannot with a mirror.

While studying the paintings in the museums of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston and looking through reproductions of other paintings, I found that there were certain pictures which gave a very much greater illusion of depth than others. The pictures that especially impressed me in this respect were by Rembrandt, Rubens, Turner, Daubigny, Corot, Whistler, Monticelli, Winslow Homer, Abbot Thayer, Renoir, Twatchman, Metcalf, Bellows, Sargent, and Benson.

To illustrate this difference in depth effect we are reproducing examples of paintings of the two types. Holland Castle, by Troyon (Fig. 4), is a good example of the depth effect that is ordinarily found. The illusion is comparable to that which we get from a well taken photograph. The nearest cow stands well out surrounded by space, but there is relatively little separation of planes in the rest of the picture. Figs. 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are good examples of the types of pictures by the above-mentioned group of artists which give a more marked illusion of depth.

In Fig. 7,<sup>8</sup> a picture by Corot, the depth is very striking. When studied with the depth lens it will be seen that the figures, trees, bushes, and flowers seem to stand out surrounded by space. Corot exhibits this same skill in most of his later work. In his painting, Une Rue de Douai, in the Louvre, the tower stands out in the air with true stereoscopic effect, though in my reproduction a white building at the end of the street is of slightly too light a value, which carries it too far forward.

In the Daubigny (Fig. 6) the illusion of depth in the branches of the trees and between the surface of the water and the reflections is exceptional.

Turner was most successful in making the clouds float out of his canvas and in rendering atmospheric effects. In his Rain, Steam, and Speed (Fig. 9) he has produced a depth of atmosphere which, in my limited search, is unapproached. If you look with the lens at the atmosphere over the train it seems to have actual thickness. I can get the same effect after I have ceased to use the lens. Similar effects can be seen in his pictures in the Metropolitan Museum, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and in the Widener Collection.

the left middle ground instead of being on the trees are floating in the air some distance nearer than a horse and wagon in the foreground. They tend to pull the trees out with them and upset the entire perspective of the picture. These defects also may be due to reproduction, but as they partly result from the leaves in question being too large they are probably apparent in the original.

*c.* Anton Mauve, Changing Pasture, Metropolitan Museum. The darker flecks representing grass are too dark and float out in the air. This may well be due to

the paint with which they were drawn having darkened with age.

*d.* George Inness, Spring Blossoms, Metropolitan Museum. The rendering of the top branches and blossoms on the near tree bring them too far forward relative to the figure, and the horizontal accents on both sides of the figure float in space above the ground.

The defects mentioned in *c* and *d* are of course minor but are interesting as a study.

8. The only reproductions of the paintings of Corot and Turner in the Metropolitan Museum and the Bos-





FIG. 7—*Paris, Louvre: Landscape, by Corot*

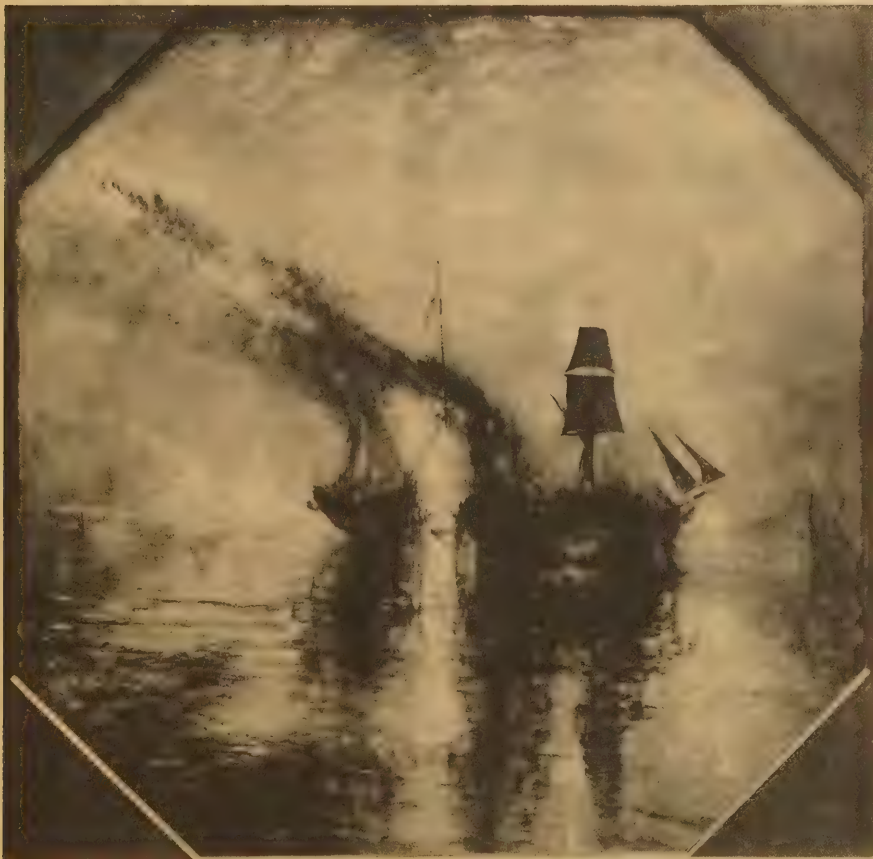


FIG. 8—*London, National Gallery: Peace, by Turner*



FIG. 9—London, National Gallery: *Rain, Steam, and Speed*, by Turner



FIG. 10—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Cannon Rock*, by Winslow Homer



Winslow Homer's work as exemplified by Fig. 10 exhibits depth qualities not so much in the matter of atmosphere as in the positive way in which objects take their proper planes.

This marked depth effect is lacking in the earlier works of all three of these men. What means did they use to produce this superior illusion of depth? The answer to that question can only be found by analyzing the factors in paintings which assist in producing the illusion of depth.

### III. BASES OF THE ILLUSION OF DEPTH

#### (a) *Linear Perspective*

I shall not stop to explain at length the way in which the difference in size of the objects depicted, or the loss of detail with increased distance, suggests depth, or how assistance is rendered by shading and shadows. Nor need I describe how linear perspective, that is, the converging of parallel lines to disappearing points, plays its part in the illusion. These things are known and practiced by every artist. I do wish, however, in connection with perspective to point out that a greater illusion of depth is obtained by using curvilinear perspective than the ordinarily used rectilinear form. This is especially marked in wide-angle pictures. The nature and effect of curvilinear perspective, which is really a proper amount of so-called "barrel distortion," are shown in Figs. 11 and 12. Fig. 11 is in rectilinear perspective. Fig. 12 is in curvilinear perspective. The greater depth in Fig. 12 as compared with Fig. 11 is evident to the unaided eyes. By comparison, the vaulted roof in Fig. 12 seems to curve over much more naturally and the lower corners of the picture do not drop down and out as they do in Fig. 11. When the two pictures are looked at with the depth lens these differences become more marked. Although not commonly used, curvilinear perspective has long been recognized as necessary by some of the great masters, as was pointed out by W. W. Ware in his *Modern Perspective*.<sup>9</sup> Fig. 16 shows the use of curvilinear perspective by Israels.

Certain characteristics of binocular vision, reproduction of which in a painting tends to increase the effect of depth have been described elsewhere.<sup>10</sup>

#### (b) *Aërial Perspective*

I wish to dwell more on aërial perspective and some other effects which produce what might be called aërial depth.

ton Museum of Fine Arts which I could get fail to give much of the depth effect that can be seen in the originals. I am therefore using in Figs. 7, 8, and 9 reproductions of pictures which are not in this country.

9. Those who are interested in the explanation as to why curvilinear perspective produces this effect are referred to *Vision and the Technique of Art*, Ames, Proctor, and Ames, *Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 58, No. 1, and *Un facteur méconnu de la vision en relief*, *Peab. L.J., C.r. soc. de biol.*, 83, 166-167.

10. The explanation of this matter was given by us

in *Vision and the Technique of Art*, in the chapter on binocular vision, and by H. W. Butler, *Painter and Space* (Scribner's, 1923), more at length and from a slightly different standpoint in his chapter on binocular perspective. It was actually practiced, however, long before by William M. Paxton, the painter. It is based on our seeing objects nearer and farther than the object upon which the eyes are focused as doubled due to the different points of view of our two eyes.

At present I do not feel that this is such an important factor as I did when our paper was written. This change

Aërial perspective results from the hazing and blueing of distant objects by the intervening atmosphere. Its effects may be described as fourfold. First, it makes all edges of distant objects softer. Second, it makes all distant dark objects appear more blue, and distant light objects, redder. Third, it reduces the chroma of all distant objects, that is, it dulls or grays all distant colors. And fourth, it makes all distant light objects darker than nearer objects of the same brightness and all distant dark objects lighter than similar nearer dark objects.

Now, as to the first of these fourfold effects, that is, the softening of edges in the distance, suppose that the artist has painted two objects on his canvas in the same color and value and wants to make one of them appear farther off. He can accomplish this by softening its edges. This is shown in Fig. 20. Those with trained eyes will see that the black patch with soft edges lies behind the one with sharp edges. When viewed with the depth lens the difference of plane is very marked.

The second of the fourfold effects, that is, the bluer appearance of more distant objects, also can be used to suggest depth. The fact that blue colors recede and red advance is well known by all artists. This effect becomes much more marked under the lens, as is illustrated in Fig. 19.

An intervening atmosphere, however, does not cause all distant objects to appear bluer. It has that effect only on darker objects. Where the light from distant objects is brighter than the scattered light from the atmospheric particles, the color of such distant objects will appear warmer. For this reason the sun and moon when they are near the horizon and are seen through the atmosphere appear red. Any white or near-white objects which reflect considerable light appear warmer through an atmosphere, as, for instance, the distant snow in a winter landscape, which appears warmer than that in the foreground.<sup>11</sup>

The third effect, the reduction of chroma in distant colors, though practiced by many painters may not be so well understood. Fig. 19 also shows how the weaker

has resulted from a more complete understanding of what a limited field it is in which we see doubled images. It is ordinarily restricted to the area immediately surrounding the lines of vision. The images of all other objects, though they may fall on non-corresponding points of our two retinas, we see singly but in perspective. Further, where a doubling does exist there may be a suppression of one image, the other remaining as sharp and contrasting as if seen monocularly. Moreover, when doubled images are depicted, I would now tend to believe that the greater depth effect which we get, as in figs. 41 and 42 in the paper on *Vision and the Technique of Art*, results primarily from the reduction of value and the softening of edges of the objects in the background, and is not due to a doubling effect. Objects that are seen double do not necessarily become of a value intermediate between their own and that of the background against which they are seen.

I do not mean that depth effects cannot be obtained

by judicious doubling of edges, or that this method should not be used, but that the matter is not so obvious as it would at first appear and that the effects should be used with wisdom. This opinion is confirmed by numerous photographs we have which reproduce the binocular doubling.

I consider the real contribution made by Mr. Butler in his chapter on binocular perspective to consist, broadly, in his pointing out the limitations the artist imposes upon himself when he represents everything in the scene as it appears to him when he looks directly at it, and, specifically, in his presentation of a type of picture in which the artist focuses only on those objects which lie in the plane of the object of principal interest. This is a technical form which seems most admirably suited for certain types of pictorial expression.

11. It should also be remembered that the relative values of red and blue change with change of illumination. With reduced illumination blue appears relatively





FIG. 11—*Reproduction of an Interior in Rectilinear Perspective*



FIG. 12—*Same Picture as Fig. 11 in Curvilinear Perspective or "Barrel" Distortion*

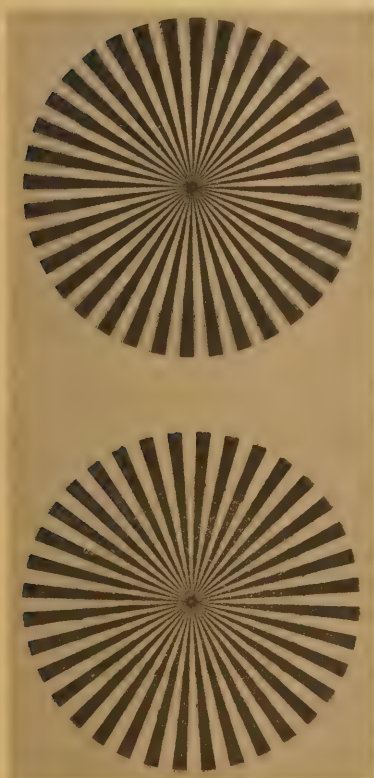


FIG. 13—*Figures showing that Soft Edged Radial Lines appear nearer than Hard Edged Radial Lines*



FIG. 14—*Figure showing that Radial Lines appear more distant than Tangential Lines*



FIG. 15—*Figures showing that Soft Edged Tangential Lines appear more distant than Hard Edged Tangential Lines*



FIG. 16—*Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: The Day before Parting, by Israels*



FIG. 17—*Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Landscape, by Corot*



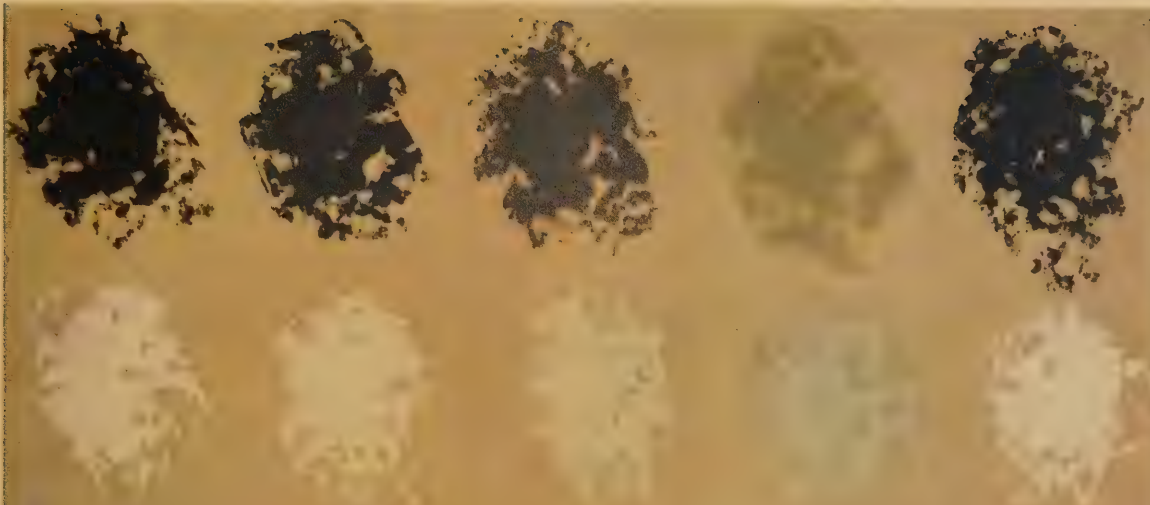


Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

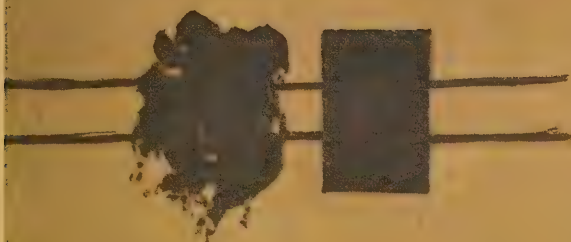


Fig. 21



Fig. 22

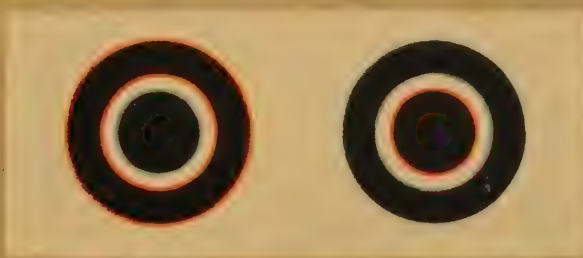


Fig. 23

FIG. 18—Figures showing that Values near that of the Background appear more distant than either High or Low Values. FIG. 19—Figures showing that Cold Colors appear more distant than Warm Colors and that Weak Chromas appear more distant than Intense Chromas. FIG. 20—Figures showing that Soft Edges appear more distant than Hard Edges. FIG. 21—Figures showing Depth Effect produced by "Overlay." FIG. 22—Figures showing the Effect on Depth produced by "Accents." FIG. 23—Figures showing that Dark Objects with Blue Edges appear more distant than those with Red Edges.





chroma appears more distant, the difference in plane being very evident with the depth lens.

The fourth effect, the darkening of distant light objects and the lightening of distant dark objects, is a very effective aid to the suggestion of depth.<sup>12</sup> This is illustrated in Fig. 18. It will be seen with the lens, if not with the unaided eye, that beginning at the left and going to the right each patch of color drops back to a plane behind the patch on its left until the end of the line, where the white and black patches float well out in front of those on their left, which are nearest in value to the paper. If the lens is removed the light and dark values will be seen to drop back, though a difference in plane can still be noticed. In painting it is possible to work forward from a middle value background with both lights and darks. In black and white work where white paper is the background it is only possible to work forward with increased darks. The range in both cases is the same, but there is less variety with the white background.

### (c) *Ocular Factors*

Another type of effect which helps produce aërial depth is due to the peculiar structure of our eyes, which causes us to see objects depicted with certain colored edges nearer than others.<sup>13</sup> If dark objects which are drawn or painted on a canvas are surrounded by red edges they will appear on a plane nearer than that of the center of focus of the picture. Similar dark objects surrounded by blue edges will appear on a plane farther than the center of focus. This effect is shown in Fig. 23. It will be seen that the circle and rings with red edges stand out in front of those with blue edges.

Ocular factors are also responsible for a type of effect that helps to differentiate difference of planes in indirect vision. This also is due to the peculiar structure of our eye.<sup>13</sup> If in a painting lines with hard edges are drawn radially from the center toward the sides of the canvas they will tend to appear in the background. If, on the other hand, lines with hard edges are drawn circularly, or tangentially to a circle around the center of the picture they will appear to come forward. This is illustrated by Fig. 14, where the circle appears on a nearer plane than the radial lines.

This advancing and receding of radial and tangential or circular lines is modified by a further fact. If we soften the edges of hard radial lines it will cause them to appear to advance. This is shown in Fig. 13. It will be seen that where the radial lines are softened they appear nearer. The upper design, therefore, looks like a megaphone horn or morning-glory, while conversely the lower appears to bulge forward until close to the center, where, there being no shading on the lines, they recede again.

lighter and red relatively darker. As a result, a red patch in a picture which stands out in front of a blue one of the same value, due to its warmer hue, may when viewed in reduced illumination appear behind the blue patch, due to the perspective effect of value resulting from the darkening of the red and the lightening of the blue.

12. Prof. Butler, *op. cit.*, has a most informative and

interesting chapter on atmospheric perspective, in which he deals at length with the important part that values play in the production of the effect of depth. He does not, however, treat the subject from our point of view.

13. Those who are interested in the why and wherefore are referred to the above-mentioned paper on *Vision and the Technique of Art*.

With tangential lines, softening of the edges tends to make them look farther away, as is shown in Fig. 15: the circles which are hard-edged appear nearer than those which are soft, so that the upper figure looks concave and the lower one looks convex.

This characteristic radial and tangential accentuation in indirect vision is also accompanied by characteristic chromatic edges which can be used to help make the objects at the side of the picture take their proper plane. These have been described in a general way in the article on *Vision and the Technique of Art*. It is hoped that at some future time this entire subject may be presented in a detailed and comprehensive manner.

#### (d) *Overlay and Accent*

There is another means, a much-used technical trick, which produces a sense of difference in plane and which it might be well to mention here, that is, the putting on of the pigment in such a way that it is evidently laid over what is behind it. This effect, which might be called "overlay," is shown in Fig. 21, where the colors that are put under and over lines appear to be quite separated in plane.

And, finally, there is the effect of accent. A patch of color will take the plane of an accent painted on it granting the mind associates the accent with the spot of color. Fig. 22 shows how light and dark edges bring a patch of color forward. They call to mind the familiar black outlines used to make figures stand out from the background. The flecks in the lower left-hand corner of the picture by Corot (Fig. 17), which float out alone in space, are examples of accents which are not associated with the objects on which they are placed.

In concluding this brief description of certain effects that produce aërial depth I wish to remind the reader that the separation of planes illustrated by our reproductions is due to but one effect or factor in each case. The depth becomes greater when the different factors are properly combined. And in a painting where other depth aids, such as difference in size and perspective, are used to give suggestions of planes of absolute distance the mind will associate depicted objects with these different planes granting they have been painted with the proper edges, hues, chromas, values, accents, and so forth.

A description of the various possible combinations and interrelations between all the various depth factors would be of interest but is beyond the scope of this paper. I shall, however, take space to say a word as to the characteristics which cause color patches to take their position in the extreme distance or in the foreground. Soft edges, bluish color for dark objects, low chroma, and middle values are characteristic of distant objects. Sharp edges, warm color, full chroma, and extreme values are characteristic of objects in the foreground. All the characteristics associated with distant objects are possible, however, in objects in the foreground. Such an object, for instance, may be fuzzy-edged, as fur or grass or pine boughs; it may be blue of low chroma and of any middle value. In a picture such objects can be kept in the foreground by using charac-





FIG. 24—*Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: Rubens' Master and his Wife, by Rubens*



FIG. 25—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Monadnock, by Abbot Thayer*

teristics of foreground objects. For instance, if the object has a soft edge, make it of warm color, or fuller chroma, or high or low value, or accent it with high lights and shadows or with detail.

On the other hand, it is impossible for an object in the distance to have harder edges or more chroma, or to be of a lighter or darker value than a corresponding similarly colored object in the foreground. And there is no way in which to cause an object so painted to take its proper position in the plane of the distance.

Though mention has been made of ocular factors that have to do with the differentiation of planes in indirect vision, it would be well to consider a little more fully the apparent relative distances of objects that we see on the sides of our field of view or in indirect vision. Apart from the ocular factors mentioned, the underlying cause of depth effects in indirect vision is the same intervening atmosphere that produces them in direct vision and the laws which control it are the same as those which have been described. There is this important point to consider, however: in our indirect vision there is a softening of all edges, loss of detail and color, and an increase in the brightness of blue. In any given obliquity of indirect vision, therefore, the laws mentioned in connection with direct vision, though they are still operative, will be modified by these peripheral changes as they exist at that obliquity.

At this point the following question may well be asked: If, as has been shown, a soft-edged patch of color appears to be on a plane behind a hard-edged one, why will not foreground objects on the sides of the canvas, depicted with soft edges as seen in indirect vision, appear on a plane behind the center of focus? They do not, because in our visual experience we see such nearer objects on the sides of our field of view with soft edges. That is, while soft-edged objects on or near the line of direct vision tend to recede, the same softening of edges will not have the same effect on objects seen in indirect vision and depicted so as to suggest that they are seen in indirect vision.

#### IV. THE USE OF DEPTH FACTORS BY PAINTERS

Ordinarily, the factors that are considered most important in producing the effect of depth are perspective, including difference in size and detail, and shadow and shading. Aërial perspective, overlay and accents, and the ocular factors, although used, are generally considered rather secondary. It is, however, the skillful use of these factors which gives the pictures of Corot, Turner, Homer, and others their exceptional depth quality.

Using the depth lens, compare Corot's *Paysage* (Fig. 7), Daubigny's *Landscape* (Fig. 6), and Turner's two pictures (Figs. 8 and 9) with Troyon's picture (Fig. 4). The difference is not one of degree. There is a difference in quality. Corot's and Turner's works actually float in space and real atmosphere. And once looked at with the depth lens, the same quality can be seen without it.

If we analyze Corot's painting (Fig. 7) with the lens, we shall at once be struck with



the great skill with which he uses the exactly correct values in his little light and dark flicks and branches to cause them to take their right planes. He also makes use of sharp and soft edges, overlay, and accents. His use of accents is shown in the sharp branches which bring the fuzzy trees into their proper plane. His use of extreme light and dark values in his flowers is very effective. A false value appears in the light horizontal line of distant water over the woman's head. Seen with the depth lens, it floats out into the middle ground. The bad value may be due to faulty reproduction.

Daubigny's use of values, overlay, and accents is, if possible, more effective than Corot's.

Turner is in certain respects more skillful than Corot. He produces more planes, more actual atmosphere. He uses values both light and dark to bring his whisks of clouds and smoke forward. He also uses both light and dark values to bring up the surface of the water while his reflections go down. The total effect, although produced as described, looks as if it had been accomplished by overlays of very thick glazes.

It will be noted that tangential accents are used for the surface of the water, while the reflections are largely radial. Tangential brush strokes are also used for the smoke in the upper left-hand corner as well as for the atmosphere just below and above it. A study of his picture in Fig. 9 will show a similar use of circular or tangential accentuation. In both pictures he makes continued use of overlay and accents. Examples of tangential accentuation bringing a background too far forward will be found in some of Renoir's pictures, where his characteristic furry brush strokes have been made in a tangential direction on the background around the heads and bodies of his subjects.

An example of a most successful handling of depth effects in indirect vision is furnished by Thayer's painting of Monadnock at the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 25). The picture, with its relatively limited center of interest or focus sharply accented and with its outer parts becoming more and more vague towards the edge of the canvas, is a very good example of an artist's impression while holding one center of focus. The difference in plane between the trees and near mountain and the distant summit is very marked. And this effect is obtained even though the mountain top, the most distant object in the picture, is depicted with the greatest contrast and detail and the trees which stand nearest are very soft and vague.

Increased illusion of depth results not only from making use of a larger number of factors that contribute to the illusion of depth, but also from legitimate exaggeration of these factors. The necessity of this exaggeration is due to the fact that pictures are always painted on a surface. This imposes limits in two ways. First, it makes it impossible to reproduce the stereoscopic depth resulting from binocular vision in three-dimensional space; and second, the fact that all the objects depicted, whether far or near, are on one plane, and we see and know they are, counteracts the effects of the depicted perspective both linear and aerial. To make this a little clearer, let us take a scene in which all the objects are at so great a distance that binocular vision plays no

part in the depth effect, but which still gives a marked impression of depth due to linear and aerial perspective. Now suppose we reproduce this scene exactly upon a canvas, with the true linear perspective and aerial perspective, including exact change of value, chroma, edge, and so forth with distance. Even when we have done this, the picture will not give the same impression of depth as we get from the scene. The reason for this is that given above. All the objects depicted are on the plane of the picture and our recognition of this fact counteracts the depth effects suggested by the linear and aerial perspective. As explained, we can be relieved of this counteracting effect by using something like the depth lens to liberate us from the plane of the canvas; but this, of course, is not a practical solution. There is, however, a solution that will tend both to make up for the loss of binocular vision and to overcome the flattening effect of the painting's being on a flat surface. That is to exaggerate the perspective factors—exaggerate them to such an extent that the picture will give as nearly as possible the same impression that is received from the scene. A very good example of a most masterly use of this exaggeration is shown in Rubens' painting (Fig. 24), especially in the accenting and edges on the ruff and head of the woman.<sup>14</sup>

So far, we have emphasized using the various factors to increase the illusion of depth in pictures. While this is the use to which painters would ordinarily put them, they are, as suggested by William James the painter, equally useful when it is desired to reduce the depth effect.

In such works as wall paintings it is desirable to avoid the appearance of a "hole in the wall." This objectionable effect may be introduced by ordinary perspective or difference in size with distance. By depicting distant objects with the characteristic values, edges, and so forth of near objects they can not only be brought forward to any desired plane but can also be made to counteract the objectionable effect of ordinary perspective, without which it is difficult to present any pictorial representation. The wall paintings of Puvis de Chavannes are a most interesting example of such a use of depth factors. A study of his paintings in either the Boston Public Library or the Metropolitan Museum shows that he accomplished his results largely by depicting distant objects with relatively strong contrast and in relatively warm and high chromas.

#### V. CONCLUSION

A consideration of the use of the factors which produce an illusion of depth raises the question as to the superiority of the different technical styles of painting. For instance,

14. The following paintings are worthy of study with the depth lens as examples of successful handling of depth and atmospheric effects. This list is by no means inclusive of all the artists who have successfully handled the problem.

Rembrandt's *Danaë*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is notable for the depth in the center of focus, especially between the staff and the woman's body. His

painting, *The Mill*, in the Widener Collection at Philadelphia, has a very deep clear atmosphere.

Turner's *Slave Ship*, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, his *Whale Ship*, in the Metropolitan Museum, and his *Colliers*, in the Widener Collection all give what might be called "tangible atmospheric effects." His *Grand Canal*, in the Metropolitan Museum, is interesting in the handling of the sky and



should a painting be like, first, that which the painter gets when he focuses on every part of the scene he is painting, or, second, like that which he gets when he focuses only on objects which lie in the plane of the object of principal interest, as described by Professor Butler in *Painter and Space*, or, third, similar to the impression he receives when holding his focus on the center of interest alone, as described in our paper *Vision and the Technique of Art*.

I have not advocated any one type to the exclusion of the others because the question as to different types of pictures is not a question as to whether one type is the only right means of expression and the others wrong, but a question as to which type is best suited for the particular kind of expression the artist has in mind. Just so, in the art of writing there is no argument that poetry is the only right kind of expression and prose and scientific writing are wrong. The only question may be as to which is the best for the particular expression in question. Now, while this is a very interesting matter, it has only an indirect bearing on the subject of this paper. The various ways of producing effects of depth are equally useful for all types of expression. The "reproductionist" can use it to help him analyze what he sees, so that he can make his canvas a more exact reproduction of the objective scene. The realist, who wishes his canvas to make the same impression on the observer as the scene itself would have made, can exaggerate the depth factors to help produce that effect. The pure subjectivist, who is interested in reproducing neither a scene nor an objective impression, but who wishes to reproduce as accurately as possible the subjective impression produced upon him by the scene, will make much the same use of the depth factors as the realist except that he will also use those factors which have to do with the peripheral part of his field of view, such as distorted linear perspective, and radial and tangential accentuation. And those who desire to flatten their pictures, either for the subjective effect or to avoid depth in mural decorations or other design, will be better able to accomplish

water. And his Aosta, a water color there, shows how he got his effects with water colors.

Almost all of Corot's paintings are worth studying. His painting of two people in a boat, in the Elkins gallery of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is a very good example.

Whistler's painting of a Venice scene in moonlight, in the Elkins Gallery, shows his great knowledge of the subject.

Monticelli, in his Court Ladies, in the Metropolitan Museum, has produced a marked effect in a technical manner different from the others.

All of Winslow Homer's work is worthy of study. His water-colors at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge are very good.

Renoir's La Seine à Chaton, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a very successful and unique handling of bushes. The depth in the bushes on the left of the picture is especially effective.

Twatchman's pastel called Hillside, at the Mu-

seum of Fine Arts, Boston, impresses me beyond any other picture as producing the greatest illusion of depth with the simplest technique.

Almost all of Metcalf's pictures that I have seen show great skill in the matter.

In many of Bellows' paintings there is a clear atmospheric depth similar in a way to that in Homer's paintings, though not so marked; it was produced, I should say, by a somewhat similar handling of values and contrast at edges.

Sargent, in The Master and his Pupils, at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, has produced a most marked depth effect in the dead branches of a tree on the left of the picture.

The works of the living artists I have not studied carefully through lack of opportunity to see their pictures. Of those that I have studied, Mr. Benson's work stands out. Both his paintings and his etchings are successful in respect to the illusion of depth.

their purpose if they are conversant with the factors which control the illusion of depth.

By way of summary, I should like to emphasize three points:

First, it is evident that there is a larger number of factors at the disposal of the artist for the purpose of producing depth and atmospheric effects than is generally recognized, by the use of which he should be able to cause any object in his picture to take any desired plane. He should be able to separate his objects in space, as exemplified by Corot and Rubens, or to envelop them in an atmosphere of any desired turbidity, as exemplified by Turner. Or he should be able to reduce the intervening space and flatten his picture, as exemplified by Puvis de Chavannes.

Second, due to the rather complicated interrelation and to the number of these factors, which permit of innumerable combinations, it is not easy to use them most effectively. It would seem that to be able to do so a complete understanding not only of the different factors but also of their relative effectiveness would be necessary.

Third, those who are interested solely in reproducing the exact relationships that exist in nature, which is really an attempt to make a scientific transposition of a scene to a surface, are restricted to depicting the various depth effects as they actually exist in nature. All others should use the various means of suggesting the illusion of depth as tools of expression and should arbitrarily exaggerate or reduce their effects to produce whatever impression of depth they are endeavoring to express in their particular canvas.



# DRAWINGS BY BENJAMIN WEST

BY ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

TO Benjamin West, the first American artist, Alfred de Vigny's definition of a great life as being a thought of youth wrought out through later years is applicable. But the truth is, West's life was greater than his art. From the age of eight, when, tradition says, Cherokee Indians in the home of his birth, which is yet standing on Swarthmore College Campus, taught him the use of paints, to beyond eighty when, full of honors, he died in London, West wrought unremittingly upon his childhood thought to be an artist. He was so successful and he came to be so famous that in 1762 he was elected President of the Royal Academy, the successor of Sir Joshua Reynolds. No higher honor could be paid to an artist in that day, and none higher can come to one in this. But in his own time, and since, his fame mainly rested on the Biblical and historical subjects of which he painted legion. This tended to obscure his luster as a portrait painter, the thing he was preëminently in an age of preëminent portrait painters. To become acquainted with Benjamin West at his best, which means with his portraits, is a revelation to most people. So is it to know his drawings, which are often masterly and never insipid or bombastic. Of these drawings more than two hundred, thanks to generous givers, have come into the recent possession of Swarthmore College.

The value of drawings, perhaps the chief value, lies in the fact that they make it possible to know the artist intimately at the instant he is moved to memorialize his subject. Then, if ever, is he inspired. With all his strength of heart and hand he tries to make permanent some part of what his eyes behold and his soul rejoices in. His aim is to do so truly and beautifully. He lays his seeing before us, and his feeling bare. He would interpret the works of God, and himself, the chief of those works. A great portrait is always more a picture of the painter than the painted, said Samuel Butler, who perfectly understood these things. He makes over to others, to all men, the record of his inspiration and, thereafter, as Whistler remarked, we have the ephemeral influence of the master's memory—the afterglow, in which we are warmed for a while, the worker and disciple. In the presence of a fine drawing we are as nearly present at the birth of inspiration as we can ever hope to be. A fine drawing is the first fruit of an artist's power to express his emotion by means of linear representation of what it was that stirred him. "From nature doth emotion come." The purpose of the artist is to endow it with permanence, "to keep through dead time the everlasting hour." His simplest and most responsive tool is a lead pencil. He seizes it and draws. For example, he sees and experiences (I mean that his seeing produces certain reactions of feeling and understanding in him) a group of pines against a sunset sky: "It is not the trees that constitute the experience [his emotion]; it is the trees plus you [him, the artist] the you of

that incomparable hour," to repeat the trenchant words of Ludwig Lewisohn. It is John Galsworthy's "perfected expression of self in contact with the world." This is what any work of art is, hence what that most intimate, immediate, and lovely of all works of art, a drawing, is. Until this is thoroughly felt and understood to be true, men will continue to mistake information about art for appreciation of art, and men will continue to " 'file' the fifteenth century, and 'pigeon-hole' the antique," loving no art and being none the happier for any art, present or past.

Now, in order to make his drawing an accurate, hence adequate, vehicle of his emotion, the artist must be able to see and to set down quickly and precisely not only the lines which make the contour of his subject but among them to select those few which are most apposite to his seeing of his subject and to his resulting experience. All good drawing is truth-telling. What many persons fail to understand is that the truth-telling in good drawing is akin to that in good writing. It records the truth about physical facts and, further, the truth about the emotion which those facts beget. This was never said more clearly than in *Diana of the Crossways*:

"Set descriptions are good for puppets. Living men and women are too various in the mixture fashioning them—even the 'external presentment'—to be livingly rendered in a formal sketch. I may tell you his eyes are blue, his features regular, his hair silky, brownish, his legs long, his head rather stooping [only the head] his mouth commonly closed; these are the facts, and you have seen much the same in a nursery doll. Such literary craft is of the nursery. So with landscapes. The art of the pen [the pencil in drawing] is to rouse the inward vision—we write on darkness, instead of laboring with a drop-scene brush, as if it were to the eye; because our flying minds can not contain a protracted description. That is why the poets [the great draughtsmen] who spring imagination with a word or phrase, paint lasting pictures."

One of the greatest difficulties for the beginner and one of the last to be conquered by the full-fledged artist is acquiring the power to see his subject in the terms of his medium, line as denoting pure shape, or lines in combination to denote light and shade, that is, solidity—I mean, making a correct adjustment between what he sees and what he knows, and setting it down on paper convincingly. It is this power which knits the parts of a drawing into one whole, a power which prevents a drawing when finished from being merely a combination of irrelevant parts, parts not seen with an eye single to order, a designer's eye, but with that sort of multiform sight which spells confusion or, in other words, antiart. However many or few its lines, careful, hasty, sketchy, even seemingly careless, a good drawing always speaks of completion in the sense of the intended being done. This is the test. Any drawing which meets it successfully is sure to suggest a close relationship between the center and what surrounds it, ordinarily speaking, the details, for so only can an illusion of reality and an interpretation be composed at one and the same time. It means that lines and shades, if there are shades, have been joined or fitted together in the way which makes an harmonious,





FIG. 1



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

*Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College: Drawings by Benjamin West*



FIG. 5—Swartmore, Pa., Swartmore College: Study for St. John,  
by Benjamin West

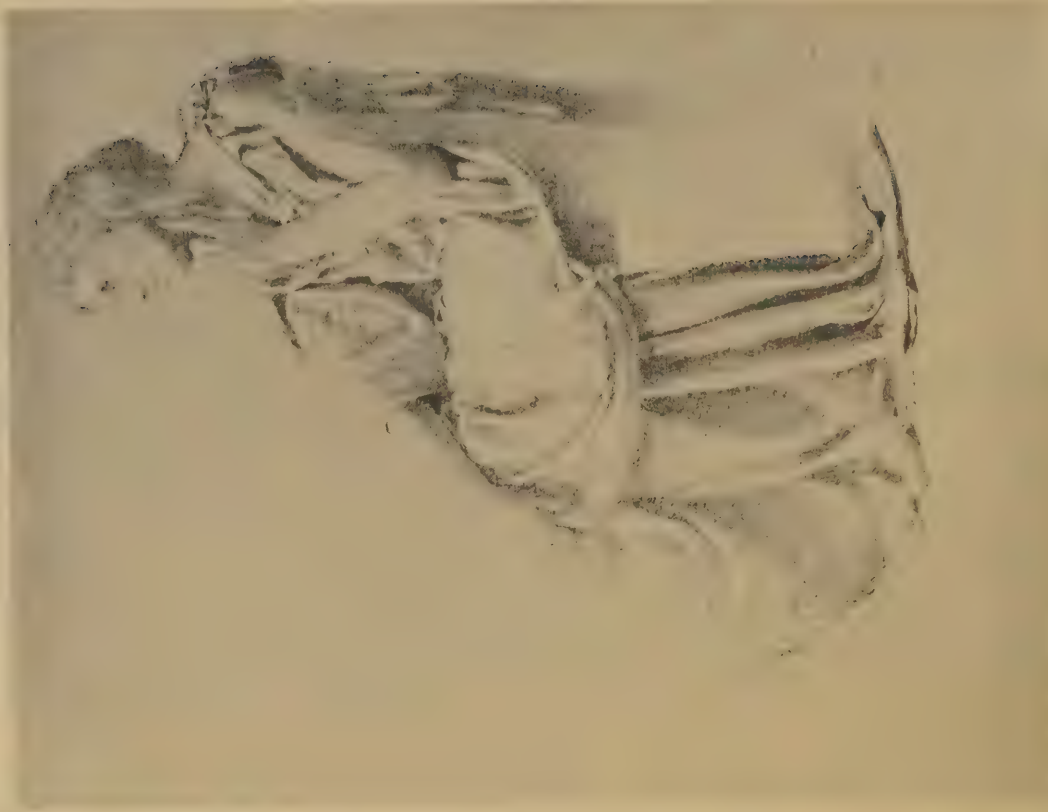


FIG. 6—Swartmore, Pa., Collection of Alfred M. Brooks:  
Drawing by John La Farge



hence vital, entity, a work of art, an absolutely new thing in the old world. This thing is the subject plus the man who took the pains to draw it *con amore*, as well as truthfully, in the sense of photographically. Examine West's masterly sheet of dogs (Fig. 2). In such fragments it is that genius makes itself known; it appears in one and not in the other of two drawings, of the same subject, let us say, but by different men, one of whom gives only a matter-of-fact delineation while the other, the genius, lifts, not changes, matter of fact to the higher level of matter of inspiration. This drawing of dogs is slight, very much so. But it is slight in the sense of numbering few lines of high-powered description, not slight in the sense of doubtful intention or uncertainty either through failure to see the tilt of an ear, set of a jaw, turn of an eye, or to perceive in these, and many other details, the canine nature, alertness, astuteness, pugnaciousness of the animal within. A few lines here, a touch there, and West draws the portrait of the creature, not a mere likeness. He has worked the miracle which every good drawing is. But no amount of words will ever make that miracle understandable, though they may help. Only sympathetic study of the subject through much time, and similarly sympathetic study of its description in lines, the drawing, can do that.

Look carefully at the charming landscape with a tower in the middle distance (Fig. 4). It is a note, little more, yet prescient as well as reminiscent of the feeling which a fine view gives, wholly apart from the elements, trees, fields, hills, which constitute the view. Look still again at his extraordinarily graceful figure of a seated woman (Fig. 3), or the pretty figure of a child knitting (Fig. 1). How few the lines in each, but how sure the place of every one, and its direction! Knowing what he wanted to do, when he wanted to do it, and how, he did it. The half-baked artist talks of his feelings, and the would-be connoisseur about the artist's feelings, when in reality both are excusing themselves, consciously or not matters not, for failure to see singly and whole. The former fumbles his line. The latter fails to see that the line is fumbled. To attain finish with simplicity, to recognize it when someone else attains it—there's the rub! Benjamin West in his drawings attained it again and again, and in his portraits often. As a rule he missed it on his over-labored, sacred and historical canvases in "the grand manner."

In a capital book on *Drawing* A. S. Hartrick says: "The practice of the greatest masters is to make the extreme edge on the shadow side without any strong line the true contour, while, if a firm line is wanted on the light side, as may be needed at times for the purpose of force, it belongs to the background."

Of this, West's crayon drawing of St. John is an instance (Fig. 5). If that which goes before can ever be reminiscent of what follows, John La Farge offers examples in plenty. The essential likeness between his drawing (Fig. 6) and the St. John of West is striking and instructive. The similarity of doing and the dissimilarity of nearly identical subjects constitute one of the fascinations of art. To appreciate the fact and to delight in it amount to mystical initiation.

One of the distinguishing qualities of West's drawings, a charming quality in any drawing and never a common one, is their firm hold upon reality without the least suggestion of vying with nature, futility however striking, which always separates the work of merely imitative men from that of creative artists. Of this his figure of a judge in wig and gown is an instance (Fig. 8). The barest difference of line has been made to distinguish between the texture of the materials of trousers and gown, between wig and neck linen, with never a hint of vulgar realism. The thing is a drawing. There it stops. It is an artist's creation based upon a carefully studied reality, a man, but it is *not* the man. It is no straining after the clever or the specious, yet it is a monumental record; much in little, that is the art of it. It gives us perfect rightness so far as it goes, but no competition in the sense that we are led to believe we are looking at a reflection in a mirror. West respected the rules of the game too highly for that. An able draftsman, he used few strokes, and exact. Why? Because he thought about them. He would not have rivaled the camera if he could, good as that might be and, conceivably, for many purposes, but not those of art, better. We have here drawing pure and simple, conceived of as interpretation of a subject, and so carried out; a reflection upon the matter in hand, not a reflection of it; the labor of a thoughtful man, not a sedulous ape. The result is success of the kind that is never striking at first but, much examined, is astounding.

When West composed he often attained great beauty which, as often, he lost in his painting, portraits excepted. Whatever of the divine fire he had when drawing was apt to die down to coolness, or go out entirely, during the subsequent process of coloring. He added color to drawing. He did not compose or create in color. With his pencil he did compose and create. The difference between a drawing, however good as such, and a drawing to which color has been added, not united, is as the difference between the poles. West has left many fine composition drawings, for example, his God the Father above the clouds in "unapproached light" (Fig. 7). George Sheringham says that such drawings are "among the most valuable to us of all works of art. Valuable because the composition sketches of a great man are generally pure inspiration throughout. In them he has worked too rapidly to be conscious of his method—he has been as unconscious as a writer is of his handwriting. Napoleon said, 'Inspiration is the instantaneous solution of a long meditated problem'; what more perfect description could one have of a composition sketch. . . . In the first rapid sketch that records his [the artist's] inspiration his mental vision is clear; the interruptions—inevitable in the slow process of painting a picture—having not yet occurred."

It would savor of special pleading to claim these "interruptions" as excuse for many of West's vast canvases. His portraits need little if any excuse. Further, it is unfair and, worse, it is stupid, not to enjoy the exceptionally fine quality of many of his drawings. The recent centenary of his death, with exhibitions of his work, has done much to awake intelligent interest in his portraiture, and to get it appreciated at its real worth.





FIG. 7



FIG. 8



FIG. 9

*Swarthmore, Pa., Swarthmore College: Drawings by Benjamin West*

Adequate appreciation of his drawings is yet to come. Meanwhile it is well to bear in mind a remark of Fenollosa's: "Art is the power of the imagination to transform materials—to transfigure them." The lovely drawing of a boy bent intently forward (Fig. 9), his hair, ear, eye, most of his hand, and that obviously older hand resting on the boy's breast, is to the point. Mark the evident haste which drew the throat line as visible through thumb and forefinger of the hand of the man who does not appear. Note the masterly way in which the pressure of the boy's fingers on that hand is suggested. Heed well the fact that West left this drawing uncorrected because he preferred the obvious impossibility of a transparent thumb and finger to any loss of rightness which might come by correction and elaboration. This drawing fulfilled for him its purpose. So he left it. So we have it! The artist may transfigure the common things of every day, that is his high business, but whoever looks at his work must acquire power to recognize, that is, to experience, the transfiguration when it comes his way. The glorious game of art is for two; for the one and the many. The artist, in the present instance West with his drawings, is the one; you or I, the other, and all of us, the many.



# THE PARIS EXPOSITION: A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE

BY ROGER GILMAN

**W**HAT is the Paris Exposition? It is a new world of the applied arts. It is a new world of reality, reality in the square masses of concrete construction, reality in the smooth surfaces of machine products, reality in wonderful new materials offered by our mastery of science and transport, reality in the severe plainness of our practical age, reality in a marvelous effort to design everything and copy nothing. And it is a new world of color, in rich and strange harmonies.

Extending over the Alexander Bridge to the Invalides, and up and down both banks of the Seine, it is an international attempt to gather up the new decorative movements of our time into one whole. It is the most arresting and stimulating sight in Europe this summer. It is a new creation in everything from its ivory mouldings to its cubist flower beds (Fig. 1), from its blue marble walls to its square cigarette holders.

How did such a revolution come about? The war, with its five-year hiatus in the arts, forced a certain detachment, led to a new appraisal. Its grim reality brought a distaste for artificial and purely traditional art. It resulted in an irresistible sense of the end of an epoch. A starting point was found in the previous work of a few hardy spirits like Hoffmann and his group in Austria, possibly Sullivan and Wright in Chicago. Men awakened to new economies, to new ideals of convenience and of practical instead of ornamental living, to an intimacy with machines and mass production and their possibilities.

Why has so little been heard about the exposition and that little so hysterical? Tourists have been bringing back reports that seem like rumors of battle or rout. The reason is that it is all wholly new to us; we have not seen it taking place as has Europe; we have not carried over these changes—some of which we ourselves originated—into our decorative arts. The proof is that not a single item from America is to be found there. Whatever the official reasons may be for our absence, we undoubtedly could not have made a showing.

Is not the exposition ugly? But is a fine locomotive ugly, or a modern automobile? Do we not rather call them satisfying, because perfectly suited to their use? And the more closely interiors and furniture are designed along the lines of use, the more they give us this same sense of satisfaction. Not being accustomed to this substitution of use for beauty, except in factories, nor to such new demands on our eye, we shall not find the exposition beautiful in the old familiar way. Certainly it has faults agreed on

by everyone, the crowded pylons on the Place de la Concorde, the bridge treatment, the four towered pavilions. But at its best the exposition has a reality, an imagination, and an automobile-like perfection that more and more stirs and fascinates us.

To anyone who is willing to give serious attention to the matter it is evident that the creators of the movement have proceeded not from arbitrary choice but from straight thinking. Modern construction and methods of erection tend to straight lines and flat surfaces, to be left in the plaster or finished with some sort of facing. From this come the rectangular shapes of walls, with recesses or projections to give solidity and movement (Figs. 1 and 2). A feeling for the space in the room itself has often produced octagons and vaulted ceilings; and certainly one feels the effect of well varied sizes, as in the small vestibules followed by the spacious reception halls, tiny boudoirs and big studies. The designers have logically discarded all cornice mouldings, as seeming to be part of the construction while purely an addition to it. The desire to avoid every hallmark of a worn tradition is apparent. For the wearisome prevalence of classic motives during the last century and a half, even in the humblest Continental salon, must be remembered in any consideration of the forward movement.

But in turning away from those classic forms as the basis of all decoration, from cornices, pilasters, wall and ceiling panels, designers found their way open to a new decoration, in itself a logical conclusion to modern construction—the charm of the finishing material. This opened up a profound vista, including the beautiful old materials, others that had been neglected or half developed, and new ones resulting from modern invention. To these vigorous men a wall treatment largely of marble was not too severe, and so they have sought out new varieties, in quiet colors with little pattern. Synthetic marbles, not imitative, but standing on their own beauty of veining and color, and tinted cements, brought to a dull luster, have offered further possibilities. Woods of new colors and cuttings are used (Figs. 3 and 4), fabrics of all textures from the elegance of satin to the gaiety of printed linen, translucent glass in tiles and sheets, and, of course, plaster in all degrees of roughness and grain. For floors there have been created new tiles of softer colors, and mosaic blocks in all sizes and shapes; for light fixtures and radiator grilles, hand-hammered iron in gray and black tones (see the cover design of this magazine); for furniture mounts, silver and ivory. Gray glass of dull finish, touched with brown or black, under the hands of its guiding genius, Lalique, has proved itself one of the discoveries of modern decoration (Fig. 5).

With such concentrated interest in surfaces, textures have come more into the field and impress one at every turn. The different lusters, firm and clean, are especially sought and studied, from the broken sheen of a velvet curtain to the brilliant glitter of a lacquer box. Lustrous satins, changeable silks, polished woods, inlaid silver, highly glazed porcelains, all are called on for their effective textures. And there are half-tone textures as well, mat surfaces, friezes of plaster roughened by profuse small ornament like stars, walls of a succession of rippling undulations. But the smooth surface is the





FIG. 1—*Paris Exposition: Pavilion of a Collector, by Rublman*



FIG. 2—*Paris Exposition: Pavilion of "Pomona," the Modern Art Section of the "Bon Marché," by Boileau*



FIG. 3—*Paris Exposition: Sideboard in two unusual Woods with Ivory Handles, by Dominique*

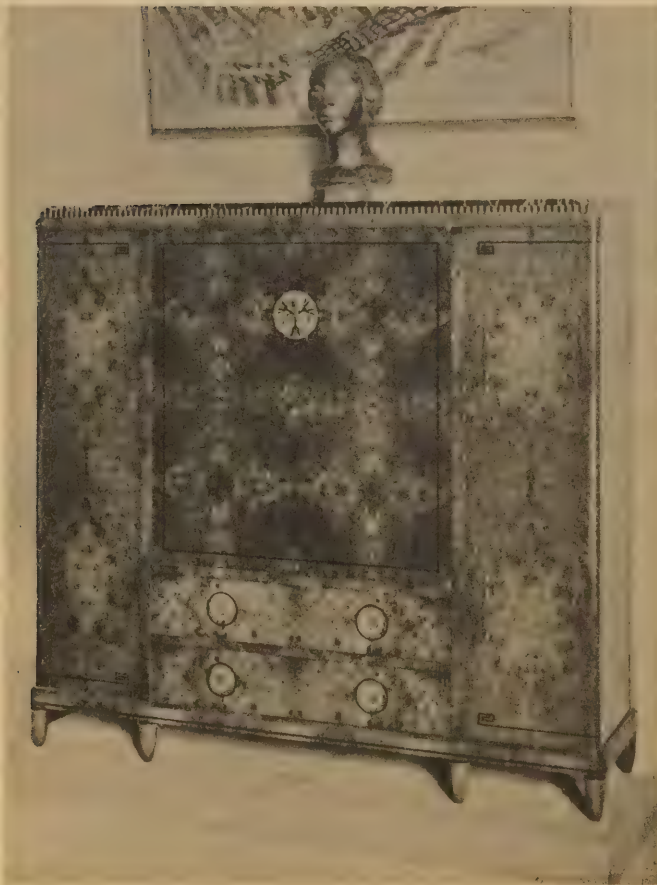


FIG. 4—*Paris Exposition: Salon Piece in Amboyna Wood, by Léon Fallot*



FIG. 5—*Paris Exposition: Glass Vase, by René Lalique*



prevailing one, for it is the simplest, most hygienic, and most practical. First appearing in European furniture at the time of the inlaid or painted panels of the Italian Renaissance, only to be swamped in the craze for the carved relief of the Baroque, reappearing in the smooth curves and inlays of the Dutch school at the beginning of the eighteenth century and again in the polished veneers of Hepplewhite and Riesener in the second half of the eighteenth century, it is now used throughout the interior. There is a significant distinction between decoration in the flat and in relief, a distinction usually considered to mark the difference between orient and occident. And it does account for much of the new effect of these interiors. But we are making this flatness our own. Our modern love for cleanliness and convenience has already led us to smooth finishes for the kitchen, the hospital, the office, the machine. As we coördinate our decoration with the apparatus of our everyday life, we tend to find our natural expression in smooth surfaces.

Ornament finds but a small place in this system of textures and materials. The delicate circles, the slim diagonals that play across the veneers (Fig. 6), the geometrical areas in the leaded glass or in the rugs have captured one part of its field. Texture has usurped another. All classic ornament is banned, natural foliage savors of the *art nouveau* experiment. What then remains? Severely conventional flower forms and purely abstract design. The few flowers used seem to be based on circular forms, such as sunflowers and tulips, and they appear chiefly in the silks and satins.

The geometrical ornament is far more striking (Figs. 7 and 8). Sometimes it is a leaf-like repetition of curves, more often a sort of cubist group of converging rays, or whirls of varying sharp planes repeated and thrown together. As a broken surface, a "gray" tone, or an accent it is undoubtedly effective. But it belongs entirely to the general effect; nobody can be supposed to look at the motive for its own charm, as in the classic periods. The assumption is that the man of today has neither time nor interest for lyric motives; roses on the back of his chair, a spreading bunch of acanthus leaves upon a column to carry a beam, such things seem trivial to him. And shall we blame him? Where his ancestors in Gothic and Renaissance times saw leaves and flowers around them in their small town life, he sees the geometry of buildings and machines; where they prized elegance, he admires simplicity; where they loved allegory, he wants reality. And why, after all, must decoration be derived from plants and vines unless you like it so; why not from construction itself and its lines?

Just as ornament is none too interesting, it is none too small. Indeed by all our canons of judgment, it is much too big; it is not only in large units but it has no fine gradations. This heaviness of scale is notable in all the fixed decoration, in the depths of wall recesses and ceiling beams, in the overhanging projections on which the ceiling often rests. It is true of the stationary furniture (Fig. 6), the tables on heavy pedestals, the secretaries and wardrobes, the beds that rest directly on the floor (Fig. 7). What does all this mean? Is it a certain masculine quality that runs through the flat

planes, the smooth and severe finish, the bald ornament? Or is it the feeling for the solid that appears in these features, the feeling that pervades much modern painting and sculpture? Or is it merely another form of heavy French detail? Whatever it may be, it is one of the chief obstacles to real admiration for the style. Worst of all, it defeats the general purpose of restfulness and perfectly balanced proportion.

If the walls and furniture are usually conservative, relieved only by the richness of their material, the color in some details is extremely advanced. The walls, ceilings, and floors, the materials of the furniture are usually in tones of whites and grays and browns. Gray seems to be the keynote, and very easy on eye and mind it is in some of the rooms, very lovely are its variations accompanied by the red-browns of furniture, rugs, and paintings, with accents in white, black, and dull orange. But in other rooms, equally sober in their fixed decoration, the textiles and furniture dazzle one with intense color, ingenious and supercivilized, even to the point of discord.

As the keynote to the French section of the exposition there is a proposed embassy, carried out by the Society of Decorators and approved by the Ministry of Fine Arts. Here, for instance, is a dining room with gray marble walls, black and white floor, gold bas-reliefs, vermilion chairs and tables. Next is a small smoking room with black lacquer walls and furniture, accents of silver and orange, a rug of flame, but a wall panel in silver and pink. Into a small room of silver and green and dark gray is thrown a big cushion of aniline purple. One recoils, bewildered. How can it be that men who elect simplicity and repose should endure this fiery complication? Or are they craving a new sensation? Have they chosen instead of the old classic leafage and arabesque a new and subtle distraction in these combinations of modern color? In music we have added to the pure melodies of the eighteenth century our subtleties of tempo and harmony, even to syncopation and dissonance. Are we here entering upon similar changes in color? For undoubtedly these combinations are the work of artists who know what they are about; so much is plain in the perfection of their simpler harmonies. Perhaps to them such an intense rug may be merely a vivacious tempo, such a dissonance in color merely an exhilarating chord. Certainly the technique of color has been pushed far forward in the last twenty years. Everywhere in the exposition the spectator feels that he is traversing its newer paths. Possibly in the presence of some of these strident clashes he is in the very front line, looking over into still unconquered fields.

What part do the allied fine arts, painting and sculpture, take in the interiors of this new world? Sculpture, at least, has a far larger rôle than it has had for a century. Sculpture seems to be everywhere. In a monumental room, such as the hall of the embassy just described, a huge polar bear of polished marble projects boldly out from the wall. In a vestibule the principal interest centers on a nude figure on a pedestal. Bas-reliefs large and small serve as wall decorations. The character of all this, as might be expected, is entirely modern. There is an expression of brute force, as in the polar bear, whose huge legs seem to move without even betraying the muscles within. There





FIG. 6—*Paris Exposition: Dining Room, by Georges Champion*



FIG. 7—*Paris Exposition: Bed Room for the "Primavera," Modern Art Section of the "Printemps" Department Store, by Mme. Chauchei-Guilleré*



FIG. 8—Paris Exposition: Private Office in Pavilion of the  
“Louvre” Department Store, by Djo Bourgeois

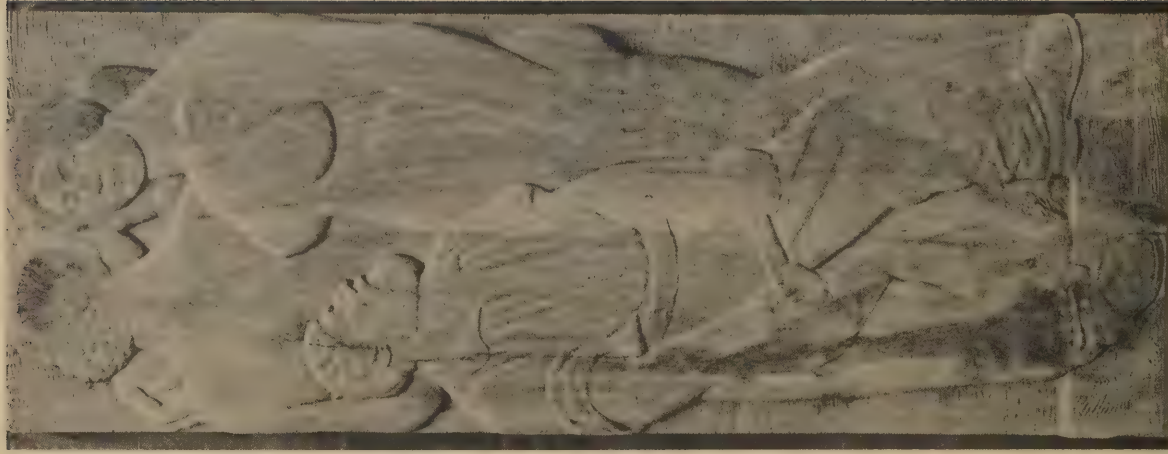


FIG. 9—Paris Exposition: *The  
Sculptor*, by J. Costa



are groups of powerful workmen bending over the tasks of strenuous labor. There are heavy and elemental nudes (Fig. 9). All of this is simplified to the last degree, whether by polished surface or by archaic or even geometrical treatment of the details. But all of these figures, somber and ponderous, even clumsy in scale, are entirely one with their surroundings. As a lighter note there are occasional small decorative pieces which stand alone on secretary or on taboret, their former habitat, the mantel shelf, being gone. These may be playing figures or attenuated fauns or humorous little animals, all highly polished to avoid any suspicion of realism or of personality. Very distinguished they seem and placed with extreme care.

Painting appears to play no longer its dominant part of the last century. Pictures are treated primarily as decorative spots, small, widely separated, chosen purely for their assistance to the color scheme and framed to belong to the wall. Their subjects are chiefly flowers, or still life, or figures painted for their flat pattern, based on the work of Van Gogh, or Gauguin. But if the easel paintings seem to have no real place and to be admitted rather as a concession to tradition, mural paintings and particularly paintings in *tempera* on rough plaster panels, are given more scope. Such painting becomes logically a part of the building and the qualities of flatness and dull color accord well with the architectural style. As in the sculpture, favorite subjects in the painting are bony, brutal faces and barbaric bodies. Sometimes they are very beautiful but many of those on the ceilings oppress one with the same sense of oversize and weight. The allegories, too, have undergone a change. Subjects like sport and dress are now admitted. And such an emancipation from goddesses and youths, such a matter-of-factness in procedure and people!

To Americans is it just another foreign exposition? North and South America have declined to go in, officially or individually. Our tourists stay away; one may pass an afternoon there among tens of thousands of Europeans and count his own countrymen on the fingers of two hands. Moreover, we have recently opened our own Early American Wing at the Metropolitan Museum, and public and manufacturers alike are captivated with the sentiment and simplicity of our own primitives. And finally—and inevitably—"why change when we have the beautiful old forms?" Ah, but everything does change. A new music, a new poetry, a new theater, are as inevitable as a new year. Whether you call it the spirit of the artist reaching out for his own way of expressing himself or whether you call it the subtle impact of new points of view in the world, all these arts of the mind are already changing under our eyes.

And of course material arts must change. New materials, new inventions, new standards of convenience, of haste, of health have changed our ideals of satisfaction in all the apparatus of living. We have come to the skyscraper of fine mass and austere walls. Left far behind are the golden cornices, the columns large and small, and the shreds of previous styles into which we have vainly tried to fit them. Gone are the red wheels and shining brass of our fathers' engines; forgotten are the figure-heads of their

frigates, even the scutcheons on the bows of their ocean liners. Dare I add also the sweeping skirts, and the leghorn hats of our mothers? These straight slim gowns, these geometrical sweaters, these tiny toques of felt, do they signify nothing?

If the exposition is really a milestone in the decorative art of Europe, as is probably true, we are at least in the highroad of change although we hardly know it. What will be our own version of the style when in our own time and way we come to it, no one can say. Certain it is that what is shown at Paris is the Continental version, partly Austrian, partly French. With our quiet, even timid, taste and our conservatism in the arts we shall do something quite different. But the principles of the style will be there, its complete adaptation to use, its simplicity of form, its variety of materials, and its new knowledge of color.



# The Art Bulletin

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AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association  
of America

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Volume VII

September, 1924—June, 1925





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# RESEARCH METHODS IN MUHAMMADAN ART

By ARTHUR UPHAM POPE

ONE reason why studies in Muhammadan Art make such negligible progress in America while important contributions are appearing continually abroad is because of the total absence here of genuine criticism. Books are not reviewed with either frankness or knowledge, serious errors go unchallenged, methods are nowhere discussed or standards enforced. Of healthy controversial literature, the mark of growth and vitality, there is little trace. This situation is to no one's advantage and is a reproach to American scholarship. Those who believe Muhammadan Art is really important should see that every sincere contribution in this field meets not only an open-minded welcome but, what is quite as important, the same sort of searching criticism which is as a matter of course accorded to contributions in other departments of the history of art where scholarly standards have been longer established and more strictly maintained. Such coöperation between scholars—for good-tempered criticism is always that—is especially needed for the clarification of the obscure and complicated, yet important, problems of carpets.<sup>1</sup> For these reasons the brief study of early Persian medallion carpets published by M. S. Dimand in *The Art Bulletin* for March, 1924, deserves to be carefully examined and not merely ignored as is the usual custom.

The three carpets described, illustrated, and discussed in Dr. Dimand's article are all in the Metropolitan Museum, but many of the type are known. One of the three is in the Altman Collection and the other two in the Ballard Collection. Dr. Dimand concludes from his observations that Number 1<sup>2</sup> is from northwest Persia, probably Tabriz, made about the year 1480; that Number 2 is also from the same region but much later, made between the years 1500 and 1530, and that Number 3 is not from Persia at all but is a much later Asia Minor product.

The reasons advanced for these conclusions are open to question and they involve methods and assumptions that are without warrant. Briefly, Dr. Dimand argues that these carpets can be dated primarily by comparison with the miniatures of the Bizhad school, which contain many clearly depicted rugs; that we can assume that contemporary carpet design followed a development closely parallel to that of the pictured rugs; and finally that, since the Bizhad miniatures show toward the end of the fifteenth

1. Although considerable literature on the subject has already appeared in America, except for one or two instances there is scarcely a sentence of genuine productive criticism in all these thousands of pages.

2. It is convenient to follow Dr. Dimand's designation of these pieces.

century a gradual supplanting of the traditional purely geometrical decorative forms that had previously dominated Persian art by naturalistic Chinese designs, we can assume that rugs which are more geometrical than naturalistic are of the same date approximately as the rugs of roughly similar style in the miniatures, even although the resemblance is otherwise not very close.

The evidence of the Bizhad miniatures is neither clear nor simple and it is easy to derive wrong conclusions from them. In the first place, not one in twenty miniatures ascribed to Bizhad could possibly be from his hand and many of them are not even the work of his immediate pupils. No wholly satisfactory Bizhad canon has yet been formulated. We can, accordingly, only in a relatively few instances be sure of the exact date of a painting that bears his name. The problem is further complicated by the fact that miniatures of one date are not infrequently inserted in manuscripts of another. For example, there is in the British Museum a Nizami, dated 1442, with twenty miniatures. But Dr. Martin thinks with reason that all the miniatures are the later work of Bizhad and that, if true, means a discrepancy in date between manuscript and miniature of about seventy-five years.

Not only are we not sure of what is and what is not Bizhad, not only are we uncertain about the dates of much work ascribed to him, but a large number of the carpets that appear in these miniatures probably never had their like on land or sea. Sometimes the properties employed in Persian painting are fanciful and the rugs perhaps more so than the others.<sup>3</sup> Current Persian practice illustrates this. There is probably no well defined type of rug produced in Persia in the nineteenth century that is not well known and more or less accurately classified, yet we find hundreds of modern miniatures depicting rugs of no recognizable type.

There is, of course, important material for the history of carpets in the work of Bizhad and other Persian painters, but it must be extracted with extreme caution. To put it at its worst, and it is a possible worst, we cannot construct an adequate time scale for dating early Persian carpets by appealing to imaginary rugs drawn by unknown artists of uncertain date and having no proved connection with actual rug weaving. It must be especially emphasized that we have no warrant for assuming that the styles in the so-called Bizhad miniatures are closely paralleled by the actual facts of rug history. But this and even more is assumed by Dr. Dimand. He says that the dated manuscripts "show us the development of Persian ornament from the purely geometrical style to the naturalistic." But Persian art never was purely geometrical and it is certainly very far from true that geometrical forms dominated down to the close of the fifteenth century. Three centuries before Bizhad we find in innumerable examples of Persian pottery and in bronzes, also, superb naturalistically drawn animals: gazelles, ibex, wolves, foxes, rabbits, horses, sheep, camels, a lively and com-

3. This is much less true of Indian miniatures, in which we often find well known types of carpets reproduced with perfect fidelity.





FIG. 1—New York, P. W. French & Co. Persian Rug

prehensive menagerie, often displayed against a background of rich and realistic foliage.<sup>4</sup> No one would deny that from the eighth century on China continuously influenced Persian art in the direction of a more animated and pictorial treatment<sup>5</sup> and that Bizhad expedited this tendency. But that the essence of this movement was concentrated in a few decades around the year 1500, that it is adequately recorded in the miniature paintings of this time, and that we need only compare rugs with paintings to get dependable dating is far to exceed the warrant of known facts.

But not only is Dr. Dimand's thesis, and more particularly his method, compromised by these considerations but his tacit assumption that differences in style are primarily due to differences in date is unnecessary and erroneous and quite disqualifies the argument as it relates to rugs Number 1 and Number 2. We can agree, in the first place, that these rugs are markedly different in style and, in the second place, that Number 1 is more crude and geometrical in drawing; but to conclude from these two propositions that rug Number 1 is therefore earlier is to commit a complete *non sequitur*. A safer and more likely conclusion is merely that rug Number 1 comes from a neighboring but more provincial community where rug planning showed less sophistication and rug weaving less skill. Such stylistic variations due to environmental and traditional determinants are common enough in all rug-weaving countries. It is a commonplace that rich and elaborate rugs of florid elegance may be woven in one city while at the same time only a few miles away in some poorer community rugs are made which, although similar to the more sophisticated type in general design, have all of the patterns geometrized and everything rendered in a relatively crude and harsh manner.<sup>6</sup>

Instead of calling all of these medallion carpets pre-Safavian and instead of attributing any of them to the fifteenth century, which we should do only with the greatest reluctance, we might meet all of the known facts of the case by placing the origin of these carpets outside of any important Safavian metropolis.<sup>7</sup> This would account for their geometrical character, such as it is, and also for the absence of Chinese motives, conspicuous in the court carpets of the early sixteenth century. Chinese motives never greatly influenced most of the Caucasus regions and apparently not even the Kurdish districts. More than a century after they are supposed to have revolutionized Persian rug design they had scarcely put a mark on the important weavings from Kerman and Shiraz.

There is another reasonable alternative to the dubious early dating, and that is to

4. We should not forget that Marco Polo admired the naturalistic designs he found in Kerman textiles in the thirteenth century.

5. Yet cf. Sir Thomas Arnold, *Survivals of Sassanian and Manichaean Art in Persian Paintings*, Oxford, 1924.

6. Cf., for example, the early nineteenth-century rugs woven in Senneh with those of the nearby town of Bidjar, and Tabriz rugs with those of Karabagh. On Dimand's argument all Bidjars and Karabaghs would have to be dated prior to Senneh and Tabriz rugs, and

if the geometrical argument were pushed with an absurd and desperate consistency all the many geometrically drawn Persian rugs from Herez to Souj Boulak and Veramin and south to Hamadan and Feraghan and even Lars would have to be placed in the fifteenth century.

7. The hypothesis that most of the medallion carpets were woven in Karabagh rather than Tabriz has more to commend it than can be brought forward here. It is quite worth testing.



regard the cruder or more geometrical rugs as survivals from an earlier time. The persistence of old-style work alongside of newer styles is characteristic of Persian art. Besides, styles in rugs do not change as suddenly as styles in modern dress.

The argument given for assigning these rugs (Numbers 1 and 2) to northern Persia is that we find in them Armenian motives such as "the large rosettes with a kind of cross in the center." If it could be shown that this design really came from Armenia it would be a useful contribution, but inasmuch as it has been a common pattern in the carpets of eastern Caucasia for at least three hundred years it cannot be used as evidence of the kinship of any rugs with Armenia without further proof. The conclusion that these rugs were woven in northwest Persia is no doubt correct, but the reasons given do not prove it and Dr. Dimand offers no evidence at all for assigning them to Tabriz, an identification that is at least questionable in view of the number of other possible allocations.

None of the arguments which Dr. Dimand advances for attributing carpet Number 3 to Asia Minor are satisfactory. The first argument is that some of the motives that appear in this carpet, "such as the angular stems and the combination of the floral motives with geometrical figures, are unknown in Persian art but are characteristic of the carpets of Asia Minor." This is a baffling statement, for geometrical figures and floral motives are combined in a vast number of Persian rugs from Karabagh to Hamadan, while carpet Number 1, which Dr. Dimand has just been arguing is geometrical, has some delightful little blossoms, rosettes, and lotus flowers set on curving stems in the field: he says, "The flowers of the first carpet are small."

The second argument is that "the method of decorating with repeated conventional flowers, the black-brown ground, and the blue and yellow flowers appear in the Ushak and Armenian carpets." To this it may be replied that all three of these features can be found in both Caucasus and Kurdish rugs, the black-brown ground being particularly common in the Southern Caucasus, and, as for the Armenian rugs, there are no such things in the sense of a definitely constituted class with characteristic and original designs.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. Dimand goes on to say, "Other elements which point to Asia Minor are the Ghiordes technique and the cross motives formed of four parts like lilies." But inasmuch as most Persian rugs and practically every Caucasus rug are woven with a Ghiordes knot that fact cannot do much pointing. The pattern referred to consists of a quatrefoil with lotus palmettes in each of the lobes, with a doubled arabesque blossom, or in some cases a lily, on the oblique axes between, the whole centering generally on an eight-pointed star. This pattern is neither exclusively nor originally of Asia Minor invention and use. The fundamental form appears in Korean pottery of the Korai

8. The theory of Armenian carpets has been repeated often enough in the last fifteen years, but so far no evidence has been produced. Those who think otherwise should meet in specific detail the criticisms and

arguments advanced by Dr. Heinrich Jacoby (*Eine Sammlung Orientalischer Teppiche*, Berlin, 1923) and those advanced by the writer (*Fabruck für Asiatische Kunst*, Berlin, 1925).

period; a clear and fine example is offered by a so-called Guebri plate of about the tenth century found near Hamadan and recently acquired by the Art Institute of Chicago; it is fairly common in Rhages pottery, especially on the luster tiles. A developed form appears in the so-called Beshir carpets of west Central Asia and it is very common in Persian rugs, one of which (Fig. 1), formerly in the collection of C. F. Williams, could not possibly belong in Asia Minor but was probably woven in Karabagh. An early carpet with approximately the same pattern is in the collection of James Deering now on loan at the Art Institute of Chicago. It was probably woven in western Persia in the seventeenth century. Another example with a simpler edition of the pattern is the garden carpet in the collection of Sidney Colvin of London.<sup>9</sup> Still another rug of the class, now owned by the Lucerne Fine Art Company of Lucerne, is illustrated by Bode and Kuehnelt.<sup>10</sup> This also is the work of Persian weavers. It is doubtful if anyone can show that this pattern is "derived from the old carpets of Asia Minor." The drift of rug design has been steadily from the East to the West, and those who hold that Persian rugs owe anything to the designs of Asia Minor must show the unmistakable priority of the latter.

The evidence thus far advanced for attributing this carpet (Number 3) to Asia Minor proves to be insubstantial. It will be worth while to see if those who hold to a Caucasus or Kurdish provenance can make out a better case.

In addition to these features of Dr. Dimand's article that are open to question there are quite a number of statements not necessarily relevant to the argument that are either very questionable or at least call for further amplification and support. For instance, Dr. Dimand says that Indian carpets were known in Persia at the time of Bizhad. A statement so contrary to all ordinary opinion ought to be explained. Were there carpets woven in India at that time? If so what is the evidence and what were they like and how do we know that they were known in Persia?

Dr. Dimand goes on to say, "These new floral motives [Indian], as well as the Chinese cloud bands, are more and more frequently used and finally supersede the arabesques, which are now less conventionally executed. . . . The best example of this style is the Ardebil carpet." But the arabesque was never thus superseded really, save for a time in some of the carpets from Herat and again in the eighteenth century in some places. Persian carpets have continued to show arabesques as important elements of the design down to the present time. To cite a few examples: arabesques are essential in the sixteenth-century carpets from Khorassan such as the Baker hunting carpet and the Fletcher prayer rug in the Metropolitan Museum; in the borders of vase carpets, persisting well into the seventeenth century; in the beautiful Kashan silk rugs such as that in the Musée des Gobelins and the Morgan piece now in the

9. A small illustration of this appears in Diez, *Die Kunst der Islamische Völker*, p. 194, and a larger one in *Orientalische Teppiche*, Vienna, 1892-6.

10. *Vorderasiatische Knüsteppeiche*, III, fig. 25.



Widener Collection and other well known examples of the type. It is an important feature of the Polonaise rugs which were produced well into the middle of the seventeenth century at least. All of these pieces are subsequent to the Ardebil carpet and there are on the latter piece many superlative arabesques of the finest and purest style, particularly in the corners.

There are other statements in the article that are open to exception but these may suffice to show that the problems of rug history are still a thicket of thorns which is not likely to be cleared away without genuine coöperation and the mutual insistence on exacting standards of scholarship by all who are seriously interested.

## REVIEWS

GREEK AND ROMAN PORTRAITS IN ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSES. *By Frederik Poulsen.*  
*Translated by G. C. Richards. 112 pp. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1923.*

THE above title represents an important addition to the list of books by one of Europe's leading archaeologists, whose publications on Dipylon Vases, on Early Greek Art, on Delphi, and especially on Greek and Roman iconography have attracted world-wide attention. There is no scholar, unless possibly Lippold or Studniczka, who knows more about Greek and Roman portraits. Poulsen was just the scholar to visit England on the Carlsberg Fund and study sculptures in English private collections which Michaelis had not included or had not reproduced in his *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, published as long ago as 1882.

Poulsen took with him an expert English photographer, Mr. R. B. Fleming, who overcame great difficulties in photographing busts in most inaccessible positions whence they could not be moved. Considering this, the one hundred and twelve illustrations and fifty-seven figures are excellent. Poulsen visited Rossie Priory in Scotland, Ince Blundell Hall in Lancashire, Margam Park in Glamorganshire, Wilton House in Wiltshire, Houghton Hall and Holkham Hall in Norfolk, Lansdowne House in London, Sion House at Chiswick, and Sir John Soane's Museum. Other mansions have been visited recently, and I understand that another volume will soon appear.

Poulsen made many important new discoveries. Among them perhaps the most interesting was that of a new type of bust of Plato in Holkham Hall, which forms the frontispiece. Other important new additions to ancient iconography are the peculiar singing poet at Houghton Hall, the statue of Alexander at Wilton House, the medalion of Carneades at Holkham, the priest of Dionysus at Houghton, the stately Roman statues at Sion House, the statue of Livia at Holkham, the brutal Roman at Margam, the melancholy barbarian at Rossie Priory, and several Roman portraits at Lansdowne House. Other interesting portrait busts, though previously known, were poorly published, generally without illustrations, and are now properly published for the first time. There are busts of Thucydides, Sophocles, Socrates, Antisthenes, Epicurus, Metrodorus, two of Menander, two of Homer, a head of Augustus, two of Tiberius, three of Hadrian, Antinous, Antoninus Pius, four of Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, two heads of Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Maximinus, Gordianus Pius, Philippus Minor, Otacilia Severa, and many unidentified heads.

Poulsen has also conferred a great benefit on archaeology by eliminating numerous forgeries and worthless antiques. So he has discarded all but 22 of 142 "antique portrait-busts" in Wilton House. He does not enumerate the works in each collection separately except for Sir John Soane's Museum, in which case the items are kept to-



gether to illustrate Roman provincial sculpture in England in the second century A.D. He has arranged the material in chronological order so as to bring together contemporaneous or related portraits. Text and illustration are *en face*.

There are some supplementary remarks to Michaelis on the collections (pp. 7-26) with pretty views of country estates and their galleries. Then follows a detailed description of the plates with measurements, an account of restored parts, description, history, and discussion of the type, and the literature of the subject. The text throughout shows the highest form of sane scholarship, and Poulsen's conclusions will in almost all cases be accepted. In only one case would I venture to dispute his experienced authority. No. 74, a niche relief in Garden Temple at Ince Blundell Hall, I would date in Trajan's Age rather than in Hadrian's. The first man of the three at the left has Trajanic hair, and the drilled pupils and hairdressing of the woman are found earlier than the period of Hadrian.

To sum up, this is one of the most valuable of recent publications on Greek and Roman sculpture, full of original material and sound learning, beautifully illustrated. It should be in every library of art, every museum, and every university; and connoisseurs will want a copy for their private collections.

DAVID M. ROBINSON

MALEREI UND ZEICHNUNG DER GRIECHEN. *By Ernst Pfuhl. 3 vols.; 918, 361 pp; 805 illustrations. Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1923.*

MEISTERWERKE GRIECHISCHER ZEICHNUNG UND MALEREI. *By Ernst Pfuhl. 90 pp.; 160 illustrations. Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1924.*

THE first of these publications is a most exhaustive and much needed work. The art of Greek painting and especially the study of Greek vases have been engaging the attention of scholars as well as the general public to an unusual extent in recent years. The pure lines of Greek drawing and the stern pictorial figuration of Pompeian frescoes, often reflecting the Greek paintings of great masters, are now duly admired and much appreciated.

There has been no accurate or scientific history of the subject in any language, unless possibly the very fair treatment in Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, which Pfuhl (p. 7) characterizes wrongly as full of "grobe Irrtümer." But that covers only a part of the subject and has not yet reached even the Hellenistic Age. Walters' *History of Ancient Pottery* is the only detailed account in English, but it is a revision of Birch and very inaccurate and out-of-date. So Professor Pfuhl's volumes make their appearance at the right moment, when we need such an encyclopaedic account. It was, moreover, a good idea not to limit the text to vases but to include all forms of drawing and painting and to give elaborate attention also to the Fayum and Roman paintings. There are monumental expensive publications in German, like the

Furtwängler-Reichhold plates or Hermann-Bruckmann's *Monuments of Ancient Painting* and Riezler's *White Athenian Lecythi*, but now the best of these are reproduced by Pfuhl in his third volume, which is given up completely to excellent reproductions, some in color. That three such beautifully printed volumes can be sold for less than \$15 ought to put to shame American and English publishers who are charging as much and more for a single archaeological volume.

Professor Pfuhl has read enormously and knows every technical and philological problem connected with his subject, but he shows the really artistic values of the remains of Greek painting as well as giving us learned details and discussions. In only a few cases would scholars dispute his conclusions. It would be a *tour-de-force* to read such an exhaustive book but no student of Greek art or even of art in general can fail to use the three volumes as an authoritative work of reference, where the latest literature is cited. Full credit is given to non-German scholars and the great English authority, Beazley, who now succeeds Percy Gardner as Lincoln and Merton Professor of Classical Archaeology in Oxford, has greatly influenced Pfuhl's conclusions. Much attention is also paid to the Americans, Hoppin and Luce, whose name appears as Bleecker Luce instead of Stephen Bleecker Luce. In the exhaustive bibliographies, however, I miss certain books of Langlotz and especially Poulsen's *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*. For Thericles (p. 46) there is no reference to Walter Miller's article on Thericles in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LII, 1921, pp. 119-131. In the bibliography for names of vases (p. 46) a reference might have been added to the *American Journal of Archaeology*, XIII, 1909, pp. 30-38, where I established the meaning and form of the vase, *oenophorus*.

Pfuhl's work is so complete that one wishes it had been made absolutely complete by including a first chapter on the important Minoan and Mycenaean original paintings which have been found in such abundance during recent years.

The *Meisterwerke* is an abridgment in one volume, which costs only 14 marks. There is one improvement over the longer work in that the labels of the illustrations tell where the originals are. Americans will be glad to know that Professor Beazley, the greatest authority in the world on Attic red-figured vases, is to give us soon an English translation.

DAVID M. ROBINSON



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VOL. VIII

THE

NO. 2

# ART BULLETIN

An Illustrated Quarterly published by  
the College Art Association of America

*December 1925*



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Entered as second-class matter October 24, 1925, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

☞ Members of the College Art Association receive  
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☞ Life membership is open to all. The fee is one  
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☞ The Art Bulletin is printed quarterly, and all sub-  
scriptions begin with the first number of the  
current volume.

☞ Address all communications to the College Art  
Association of America, New York University,  
Washington Square, New York.



# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. VIII No. 2

DECEMBER 1925

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA



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FIG. 1—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Altar-Frontal (Photo Mas)



# THE EARLIEST PAINTED PANELS OF CATALONIA (III)<sup>1</sup>

By WALTER W. S. COOK<sup>2</sup>

(5) THE ALTAR-FRONTAL IN THE ESPONA COLLECTION

A PAINTED antependium recently acquired by Sr. D. Jaime Espona of Barcelona (Figs. 1-6)<sup>3</sup> shows close stylistic affinities with the group of Catalan panel paintings that we have already studied. For many years this panel hung in the Barnola collection at Barcelona<sup>4</sup> and it is said to have come originally from Vich.<sup>5</sup> The work consists of a central compartment, containing a *Majestas Domini*, and lateral compartments, divided by a horizontal band of ornament into upper and lower registers, each of which contains three standing apostles.

The *Majestas Domini* (Fig. 2) is enclosed within an elliptical mandorla and is seated on a dark green wooden throne, which is embellished with an all-over pattern of red lozenges. The red and brown cushion has no ornament. The Saviour is shown with the usual crossed nimbus, the background of which is dark green, and His hair and beard are dark red. The orange tunic, with wide sleeves, is caught up on the left shoulder and is embroidered on that side with a wide band consisting of red and yellow ovals bordered by a row of white dots. The folds of the tunic are indicated across the chest by curving yellow stripes. The dark brown and green mantle, covered with dark red rosettes, is draped over the left shoulder and falls below the knees in a jagged, irregular outline, the contours of which are emphasized by their yellow outline. The sleeves of the yellow alb, which are visible only at the wrists, show a quatrefoil pattern. Christ holds on His left knee an unusually tall Book of the Gospels, which resembles a tablet more than a book and His right hand is raised in benediction. His bare feet rest on a

1. For previous articles in this series see *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85 ff.; VI, 2, pp. 31 ff. I have discussed the stucco altar-frontals of Catalonia in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 41-81.

2. To Charles R. Morey, Professor of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University, I am especially indebted for criticism of the following pages. I am also grateful for many courtesies extended to me by Mrs. Henry French Hollis, of the staff of the Princeton Index of Christian Art. Among my illustrations are photographs reproduced by courtesy of Miss Belle da Costa Greene, Director of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library; the Frick Art Reference Library; Mossen Joseph Gudiol i Cunill, of the Episcopal Museum at Vich, and his assistant, Mossen Cunill; Arxiv "Mas," Barcelona; Institut d'Estudis Catalans; Rep. Ic. de España; Mr. Albert M. Friend, Jr.; Mr. Arthur Byne;

Dr. Richard Offner; Dr. Wilhelm F. Bange, of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin; and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

3. *Rambla de Cataluña*, 25.

4. It was sold in 1922.

5. Photograph by Arxiv "Mas," no. 1492 B; tempera on wood; 0.88 x 1.23 m. The frame on all four sides is missing and the two lower corners are entirely restored. It was mentioned in the publication of the Sociedad Artístico-Arqueológica Barcelonesa, *Album de detalles artísticos y plástico-decorativo de la Edad Media Catalana*, Barcelona, 1882, no. 33, and was exhibited at the Barcelona Exhibition in 1888, where it was dated in the twelfth century (Asociación Artístico-Arqueológica, Barcelonesa, *Album de la sección arqueológica de la exposición universal de Barcelona, año 1888*, Barcelona, 1888, no. 4, p. 109, pl. 4.

curving green suppedaneum, which is decorated with a diaper pattern. The figure is relieved against a dark yellow background.

The four symbols of the evangelists appear in the spandrels outside the mandorla against a dark red background: on the upper left, the angel of St. Matthew, with orange and green wings and clothed in a dark green tunic and yellow mantle; on the upper right, the eagle of St. John, with green feathers and holding a yellow scroll; in the lower left, the lion of St. Mark, with dark green body; and on the lower right, the ox of St. Luke, with orange body and yellow and green wings. An inscription in hexameters, written in mixed majuscules around the edge of the mandorla reads:

HIC DEVS ALFA ET O CLEMENS MISERATOR ADESTO  
AC PIETATE TVA MISERORVM VINCLA RELAXA AMEN

which can be freely translated:

"This God is alpha and omega. Be thou present, merciful source of compassion, and with thy goodness loosen the fetters of the miserable. Amen."

The twelve apostles in the lateral compartments wear plain yellow nimbi, mantles, and long tunics terminating at the ankles in stiff, tube-like folds. Some are shown with red or orange beards and others are beardless. Each holds a book or scroll with the exception of St. Peter, the last figure on the upper left (Fig. 3), who holds the double keys, and St. Andrew, the central figure in the register on the upper right (Fig. 4), who carries a cross. The remaining figures cannot be identified with certainty. It is possible that the bearded, partially bald figure on the left of St. Peter, who holds a long scroll, represents St. Paul, and that the youthful, beardless figure on the left of St. Andrew may represent St. John. The drapery and feet of the end apostle in the lower left register (Fig. 5) have been clumsily restored; in the lower register on the right (Fig. 6) the lower half of the central apostle and all of the end figures are modern. The predominating colors of the tunics are dark red, orange, yellow, and green, and the figures are shown against a striped background with dark red, yellow, and green horizontal bands.

The ornament on the narrow band which divides the upper and lower registers in the side compartments contains units of orange and green ovals with small beads on a green ground and is a frank attempt to imitate jewel work. The wide frame which originally enclosed the composition on all four sides is missing. The present border, much restored, consists of a foliate design on a red ground.

The close relationship between this and previous panels that we have studied is shown by many details of the figure and drapery style. The stiff, tube-like tunics are cut off sharply at the ankles as on the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 10) and the same mannerism appears on the earlier St. Martin altar-frontal at Vich (Fig. 9). The long mantles worn by the apostles in the side compartments of the Espona panel are draped over or wrapped orator-fashion around the arm, falling in heavy folds behind the body. This plastic drapery treatment, which follows the Latin formula current from the





FIG. 2—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)





FIG. 3—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Photo Mas)



FIG. 4—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Photo Mas)





FIG. 5—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Photo Mas)



FIG. 6—Barcelona, Espona Collection: Detail of Altar-Frontal  
Apostles (Photo Mas)





FIG. 7—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Canopy*  
*Christ (Photo Mas)*

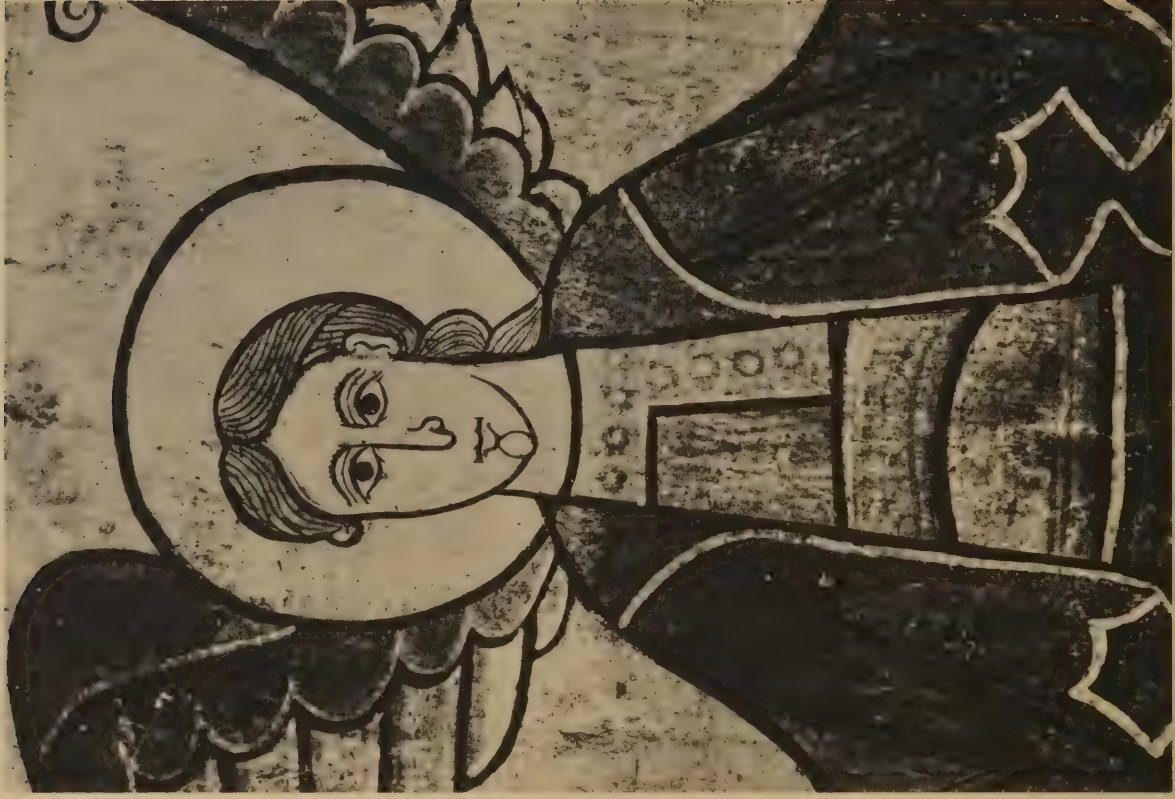


FIG. 8—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Canopy*  
*Angel (Photo Mas)*



eighth to the twelfth century in Italy and southern France,<sup>6</sup> was also common in Mozarabic manuscripts, as shown by the Codex Vigilanus (Fig. 30) and the Codex Aemilianensis,<sup>7</sup> where the tube-like tunics are also cut off sharply above the ankles and terminate in conventional pleats at the bottom.

The drapery of the Espona panel, however, was more influenced by contemporary Catalan models executed under French influence than by the style of Mozarabic Spain. This is shown by the manner in which the Saviour's tunic is caught up on His left shoulder and richly embroidered with a wide border. This feature does not appear in Mozarabic illumination but is common in France, especially in the schools of Toulouse and Limoges.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the embroidered band on the tunic shown in Fig. 2 is identical with that found on the Saviour's tunic in the sculptured tympanum of the church at Carennac (Fig. 12) and is also employed in the Vich altar-canopy (Figs. 10 and 8). Moreover, the Saviour's mantle in the Espona panel shows many analogies with that worn by the *Majestas Domini* on the west façade of Chartres,<sup>9</sup> where the garment is wrapped like a sash around the waist and falls on either side of the body and below the knees with much the same irregular contour as in Fig. 2. At Chartres the folds of the tunic, as shown below the knees, are treated more naturalistically and with far less angularity than on the Barcelona panel, but the general arrangement is analogous. The use of curving stripes on the breast of the tunic in the Catalan altar-frontal (Fig. 2) is another French mannerism,<sup>10</sup> already noted on the two early antependia in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 11), but there is little or no suggestion in the Espona panel of the Languedoc "flying fold,"<sup>11</sup> which appears in the Barcelona antependia and on the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 10).

Perhaps the most striking evidence of school tradition is revealed by a comparison of the central compartments of the Espona panel and the Vich altar-canopy.<sup>12</sup> In both works Christ is seated on the same type of bolstered wooden throne, enclosed within a mandorla inscribed with mixed majuscules, and the blessing right hand with abnormally long fingers is held in the same position. In both examples (cf. Figs. 2 and 7) there are the same small ears, long nose, and a similar treatment of beard and mous-

6. Early Latin examples are illustrated by the Munich Gospels of the eighth century (Amédée Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pl. II) and the ninth century Trèves Apocalypse (*ibid.*, pls. CLV-CLVI). The persistence of the tradition in the early Romanesque sculpture of southern France is shown by the piers in the cloister at Moissac (A. Kingsley Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, 1923, IV, pls. 266, 267, 271, 272), the ambulatory reliefs in the church of St.-Sernin at Toulouse (*ibid.*, pls. 297, 298, 300, 303, 304), and the apostles on the lintel of the Ascension tympanum of St.-Sernin, Toulouse (*ibid.*, pls. 308, 310; Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, Paris, 1922, fig. 40).

7. Cf. also *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 6, and VI, 2, figs. 29 and 30.

8. Manuscript from Limoges, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 11550 (Mâle, *op.cit.*, fig. 4).

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 219.

10. Manuscript from Limoges, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1987 (Mâle, *op.cit.*, fig. 12); Ascension tympanum, St.-Sernin, Toulouse (*ibid.*, fig. 40; Porter, *op.cit.*, pls. 308-9); Moissac tympanum (*The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 24; Mâle, *op.cit.*, fig. 1); apostles, Toulouse Museum (*ibid.*, fig. 13).

11. For a discussion of this motif see *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 98-99; VI, 2, pp. 36-37.

12. *Ibid.*, V, 4, fig. 23.

tache. The Saviour's hair in the Espona panel might have been copied line for line from the carefully delineated hair found on the Vich altar-canopy. This manner of dressing the hair, which follows the Romanesque formula of southern France,<sup>13</sup> differs radically from the treatment found in Leon-Castile during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In the Catalan antependia (cf. Figs. 2, 7, and 9) and manuscripts<sup>14</sup> the hair is parted over the center of the forehead, there is a large roll on either side of the head, and the locks are caught up below the ears. In Castile, on the other hand, as shown by eleventh century carving, the hair is tightly braided and is wound Chinese-fashion around the top of the skull or brought down low over the crown of the head, fitting tightly like a skull cap (cf. Figs. 13, 14, and 15).

The facial type of the Saviour in the Espona panel (Fig. 2) is much more advanced than that found on the Vich altar-canopy and on earlier works of the first half of the twelfth century. On such work as the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 7) and the St. Martin antependium at Vich (Fig. 9) the eyes are large staring orbs, the underlid is rendered by a straight line, and the mouth is either perfectly straight or, as on the two panels in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 11), turns down sharply at the corners, producing an effect of austerity and solemnity. In the case of the Espona panel, on the other hand, the eyes are smaller, the under eyelid is rendered by a curved rather than a straight line, and the sensitive mouth is modelled with expression and feeling. This humanizing tendency, which shows a distinct break with the majestic, awe-inspiring features of the early Romanesque formula, is much closer to the naturalistic treatment found at Chartres, where the conception of ideal beauty is no longer Romanesque but early Gothic.

The cushioned throne on which the *Majestas Domini* is seated was in widespread use in Catalan art during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is simply constructed, consisting of a large bolster and a wide seat supported by two uprights. The origin of this type is unknown but it may have been derived from early Coptic models, since a similar throne appears in the sixth or seventh century in the wall paintings of Bawit<sup>15</sup> and Sakkara,<sup>16</sup> where the seat and uprights are richly ornamented with a lozenge-and-bead pattern in imitation of jewel work. The Coptic seat is usually represented with a high back, whereas this detail is usually omitted from the Catalan examples. Sometimes the Spanish artist added a crossbar at the base as additional support, as shown by a New Testament page in the Bible of Roda,<sup>17</sup> by the *Majestas Domini* relief on the façade of the church at Arles-sur-Tech (Fig. 16), and by the manuscript

13. Cf. relief of *Majestas Domini* in ambulatory of St.-Sernin, Toulouse, *ibid.*, V, 4, fig. 13.

14. *Ibid.*, V, 4, figs. 12, 14, 16, 33.

15. Jean Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, in *Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XII, Cairo, 1904, pls. XVII, XXI,

XL, XLII, XC, XCVI, XCVIII. *The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, fig. 15.

16. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1907-1908)* in *Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, III, Cairo, 1909, frontispiece; pls. VIII, X (4).

17. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 12.



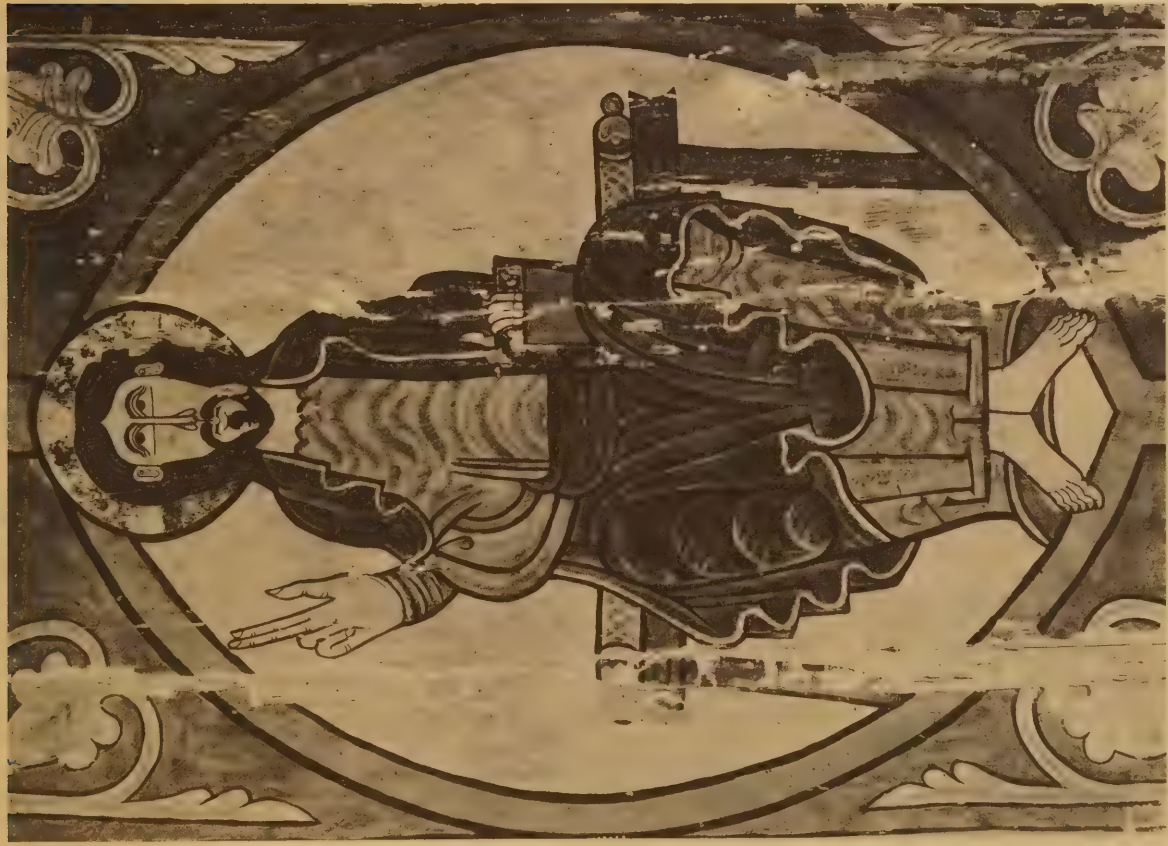


FIG. 9—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of St. Martin Altar-Frontal. Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 10—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Canopy. Angel (Photo Mas)*





FIG. 11—*Barcelona, Museum: Detail of Antependium. Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)*





FIG. 12—*Carennac, Church: Sculptured Tympanum*



FIG. 13—*Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Detail of Ivory Cross of King Ferdinand II and Sancho*

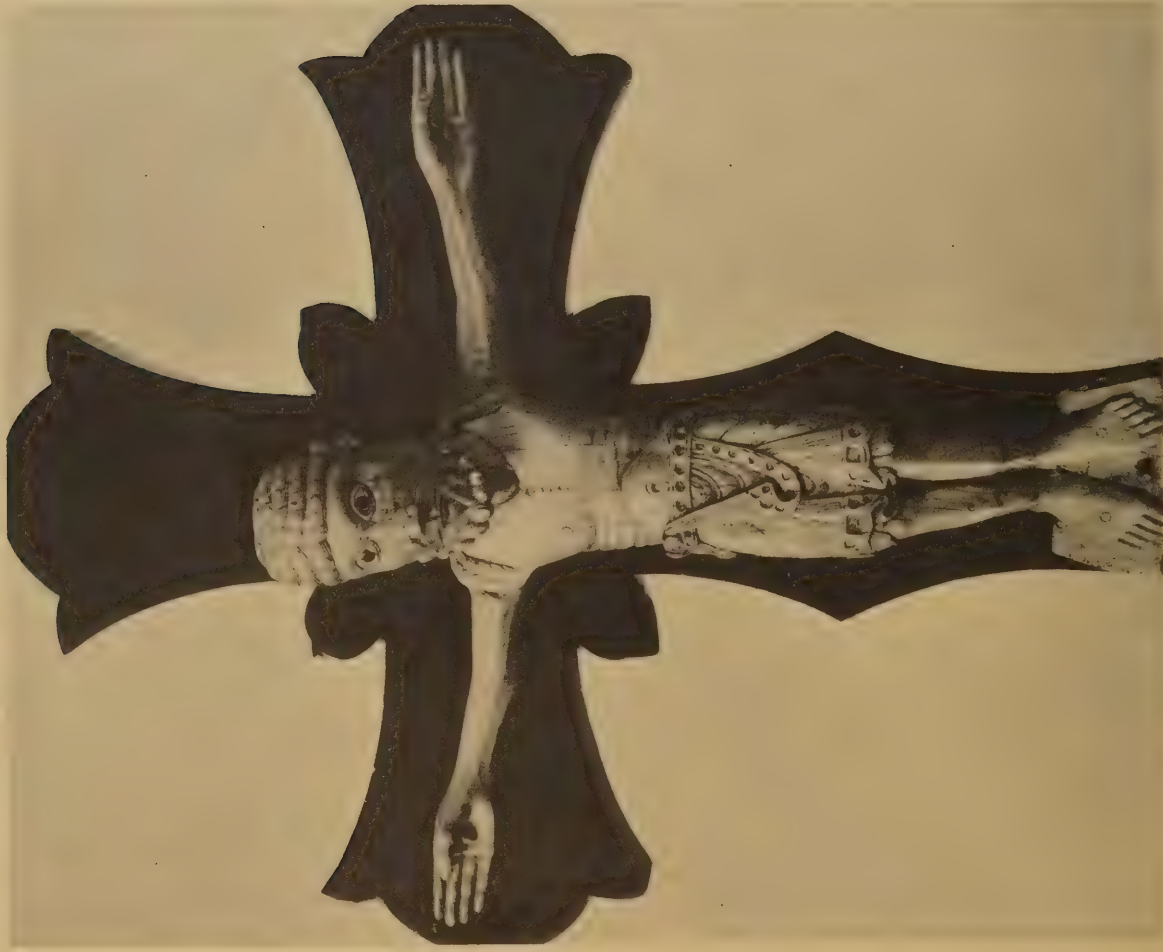


FIG. 14—Leon, Archaeological Museum: Ivory Crucifix (Photo Byne)



FIG. 15—San Millán de la Cogolla: Central Panel  
of Ivory Sbrine





FIG. 16—*Arles-sur-Tech, Church: Relief on Façade. Majestas Domini (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 17—*San Juan de las Abadeses: Sculptured Tympanum (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 18—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Fragment of a Manuscript (Photo Mas)

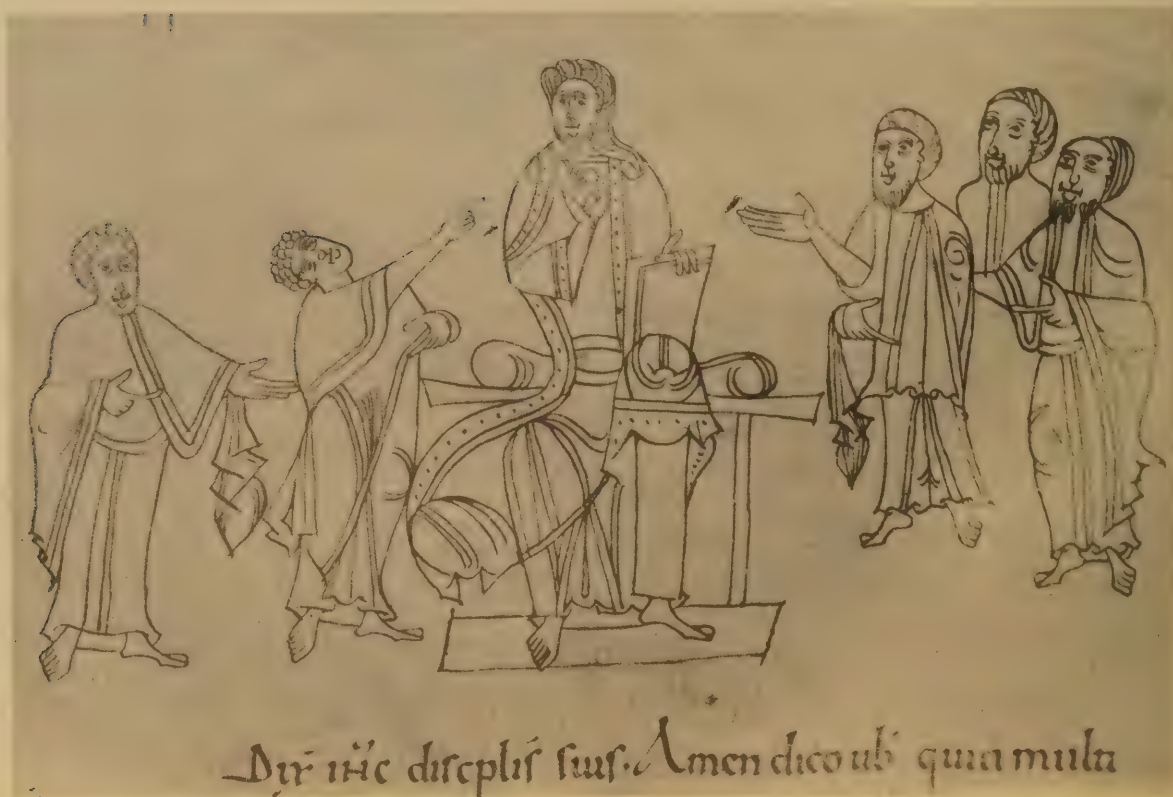


FIG. 19—Gerona, San Felice: Page of Homilies of Bede (Photo Mas)



examples illustrated in Figs. 18 and 19. When there is no supporting base the Saviour's feet usually rest on a small *scabellum*, as in the relief of San Juan de las Abadessas (Fig. 17), or on a cushion, as in the Romanesque fresco at Terrassa.<sup>18</sup> Occasional Catalan examples may be cited where the seat and supports are richly embellished,<sup>19</sup> as in the early Coptic frescoes, but more frequently the Catalan throne is a simple wooden structure without ornament (cf. Figs. 9, 17, 18, and 19).

It is interesting to note that this is the only Catalan altar-frontal with a striped background. In other Romanesque antependia the figures are sometimes placed against a field composed of colored squares or rectangles, but this is the only panel with a background divided by horizontal bands. It is an ancient formula, appearing in western Europe in Latin manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries, where it can be traced to the conventionalization of the illusionistic sky and background. In the first Vatican Virgil<sup>20</sup> the foreground, distant ground, horizon, and sky are rendered in different tones in a series of registers, to reproduce the effects of light and distance. There is very little linear perspective but a marked attempt at aërial variety, a feature which is found in the Ambrosian Iliad,<sup>21</sup> the Quedlinburg Itala, and the Liberian mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore (352–366 A.D.).<sup>22</sup> In these works, which represent the last expression of antique illusionism, the registers of colors blend into one another. Later artists were sometimes fairly successful in reproducing the atmospheric perspective of such early models as the Vatican Virgil, especially the artists of the school of Tours, as shown by the Vivien Bible.<sup>23</sup> More frequently, however, the later artists misunderstood the meaning of the earlier convention, and with the gradual decay of Latin illusionism the aërial perspective degenerated into a simple rendering of stripes, a convention which became especially prevalent in the painting of southern Gaul and Spain.

By the year 900 the use of striped backgrounds had become an accepted tradition of the Mozarabic manuscript style in Spain, and it appears in all the codices written at Toledo and in the monasteries of the Asturias. The manner in which this convention was employed in Spanish art can be illustrated by a page from the early tenth century Beatus manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 20), where the background is composed of three bands of colors, red, yellow, and brown, and again in the Gerona Beatus of 975. In other European schools of illumination this mannerism disappeared, whereas it survived in the Peninsula until the close of the Romanesque period, well

18. Illustrated in a forthcoming article in *The Art Bulletin*.

19. *Ibid.*, V, 4, figs. 14, 16, 23.

20. Pierre de Nolhac, *La Vergile du Vatican*, extract from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, XXXV, 2, 1897; *Codices e Vaticanis selecti*, I; *Fragmenta et Picturae Vergiliana Codicis Vaticani 3225*, Rome, 1899; *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 38.

21. *Homeri Iliado pictae fragmenta Ambrosiana phototypice edita cura doctorum Ant. M. Ceriani et Ach. Ratti*;

*praefatus est Ant. M. Ceriani*, Milan, 1905; *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 26.

22. According to Wilpert (*Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916, I, pp. 412 ff., pls. 8–28) the present gold ground of the mosaics is mostly restored, but the original background shows the light effect of the first Vatican Virgil in that a marked change of tone is visible toward the horizon.

23. Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, fig. 39.

into the thirteenth century. A typical twelfth century Spanish example is to be seen in a copy of the Beatus in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where the page is again divided into three registers, and the red, blue, and yellow bands are placed one above the other. The late persistence of the tradition in Castile can be shown by the *Mulier super bestiam* page of the thirteenth century Beatus in the Morgan Library (Fig. 21), where two bands of color are employed. From such manuscript examples as these the convention passed into the repertoire of the fresco painters and it appears in nearly all the extant mural painting of Catalonia.<sup>24</sup> It was also frequently employed by the French artisans of the school of Limoges, as shown by an enamel plaque in the Morgan collection (Fig. 22), and a reliquary casket in the cathedral of Huesca (Fig. 23). The use of this mannerism in southern France was undoubtedly due to Spanish influence.<sup>25</sup>

The date of the Espona panel cannot be placed earlier than the year 1150. This is evident from the expressive faces and the advanced drapery treatment, especially that of the *Majestas Domini* in the central compartment, which recalls the treatment found on the west façade of Chartres. The bent knees and the general attitude of the symbol of St. Matthew, in the upper left spandrel of the Espona panel, show an obvious attempt to approximate the running movement of the angel at Chartres, and equally reminiscent of this French monument is the manner in which the Book of the Gospels is held between the feet of the symbols of St. Mark and St. Luke. The antependium is clearly later than the Vich altar-canopy and should be placed in the second half of the twelfth century. Moreover, in view of the numerous analogies which we have noted between the Espona panel and the Vich altar-canopy it is highly probable that both works are products of the same atelier in the Plana de Vich.

#### (6) THE SAINT LAWRENCE ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM SAN LORENZO DE LOS DOS MUNT

The earliest Catalan altar-frontal which illustrates scenes from the acts and passion of St. Lawrence is now preserved in the Episcopal Museum at Vich (Fig. 24). This panel,<sup>26</sup> which was found in the church of S. Lorenzo de los Dos Munt, a small parish

24. The frequency with which the *motif* was employed in Catalonia during the Romanesque period is attested by the following Catalan examples: Sant Martí de Fenollar (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Les pintures murals catalanes*, pl. VI); Sant Miguel de la Seo (*ibid.*, pls. VII-X); Santa María d'Aneu (*ibid.*, fig. 39); Sant Climent de Tahull (*ibid.*, pls. XI, XII); Santa María de Tahull (*ibid.*, pl. XIII); Santa María de Bohí (*ibid.*, pl. XV); Santa María d'Esterri (*ibid.*, pl. XVI); Ginestare de Cardós (*ibid.*, pl. XVIII); Esterri de Cardós (*ibid.*, pl. XIX); Santa Eulalia d'Estahon (*ibid.*, pls. XX, XXI).

25. For a discussion of the adoption by the school of Limoges of Spanish ornamental motives see my article in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 77-80.

26. Vich, Episcopal Museum, No. 8; tempera on panel; 0.89 x 1.38 m; photograph by Thomas, no. 358; the lower part of the panel has been damaged and little of the original color remains on the frame. The panel was acquired for the museum at Vich by Bishop Morgades and was exhibited at the Barcelona Exhibition in 1888. Bibliography: Asociación Artístico-Arqueológica Barcelonesa, *Album de la sección arqueológica de la exposición universal de Barcelona, año 1888*, pp. 107-108, pl. I; *Catálogo del museo arqueológico-artístico episcopal de Vich*, Vich, 1893, p. 71; Charles Rohault de Fleury, *Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments*, Paris, 1896, IV, pp. 241-242, pl. LXXXI; Joseph Gudiol i Cunill, *Nocions de arqueología sagrada catalana*, Vich, 1902, pp. 256, 261, figs. 85, 88; *idem*,





FIG. 20—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Tenth Century Beatus Manuscript



anther sedet super bestia.



ESTIMATIO. SUPRA. SCRIPTA. EST.

sunt. Bestia aut dictum ē: corpus ē ad

FIG. 21—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Thirteenth Century Beatus Manuscript



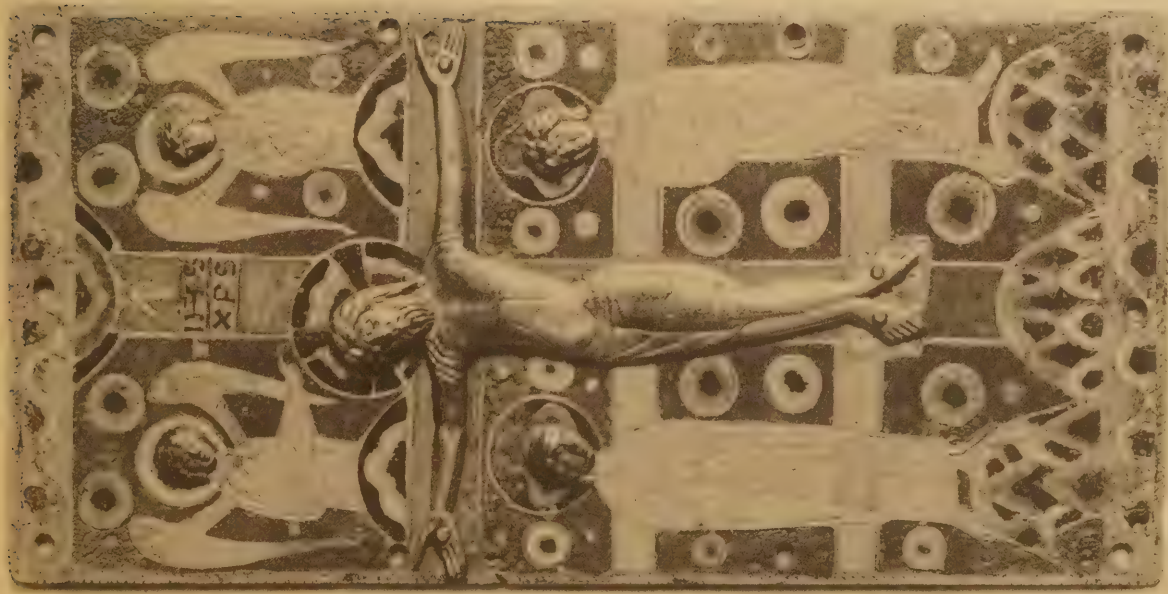


FIG. 22—New York, Metropolitan Museum:  
Enamel Plaque



FIG. 23—Huesca, Cathedral: Enamel Reliquary  
(Photo Mas)



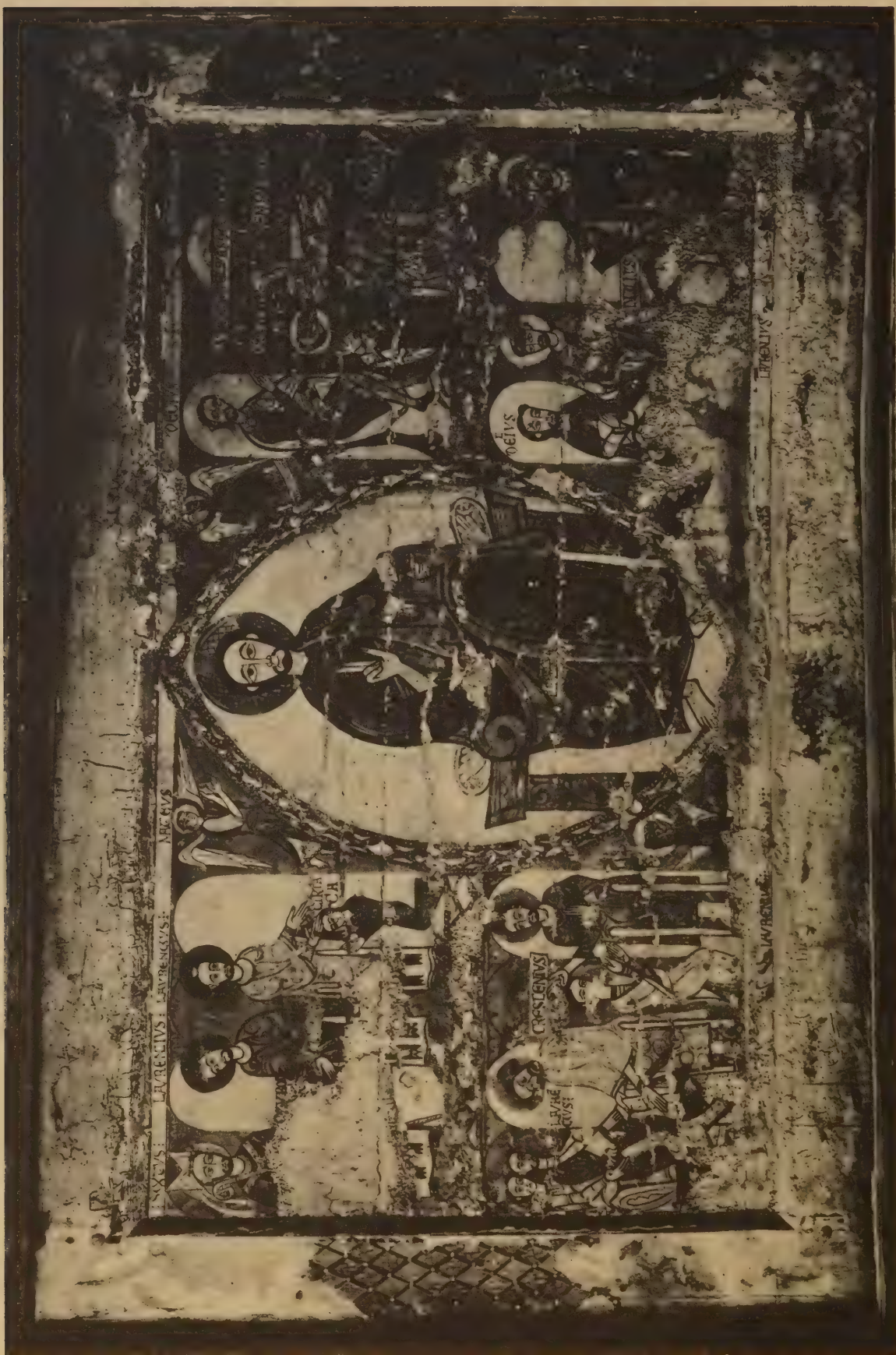


FIG. 24—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Altar-Frontal from San Lorenzo de los Dos Muntis



church south of Vich,<sup>27</sup> contains a central compartment with the *Majestas Domini* and four lateral divisions with seven scenes from the life of St. Lawrence.

The Saviour (Fig. 25) is seated on a wide, bench-like green throne, which has a dark green scroll ornament and a narrow bolster with yellow foliate design. The red crosses of the nimbus are relieved against a reticulated green background. The eyes are shaded, and a triangular spot of red color is painted on each cheek; the hair, moustache, and beard are jet black. Christ is clothed in a dark green tunic and voluminous dark red mantle. With His left hand He clasps the closed Book of the Gospels, which rests on His knee, and His right hand is raised in benediction. His bare feet rest on the lower rim of an elliptical mandorla. Wavy red lines, indicating clouds, are drawn inside the mandorla, which is embellished with a degenerate bead-and-reel ornament interspersed and bordered by dots. Outside the mandorla, against a red background, appear the four symbols of the evangelists; in the upper left spandrel, the angel of Matthew (MATEVS) with a book; in the right, the eagle of St. John (inscription missing) with a scroll; in the lower left, the lion of St. Mark (MARCVS); in the lower right the ox of St. Luke (LVCHAS) is almost obliterated.

The story of St. Lawrence begins in the upper left compartment, with the scene in which Pope Sixtus II delivers the church treasures to the saint (Fig. 26). "Then he delivered to him all the treasures, commanding him that he should give them to churches and poor people. And the blessed man sought the poor people night and day, and gave to each of them as was needful."<sup>28</sup> The figure of the pope (SIXTVS) is badly damaged but he undoubtedly held in one hand a purse (*TESAVROS*) which he was in the act of delivering to the saint (*LAVRENCIVS*). The pope is shown with yellow halo, mitre and alb, a dark green pontifical, stole, embroidered black sandals, and crozier. St. Lawrence, whose hands are outstretched to receive the purse, is represented with beard and tonsure, yellow alb, green dalmatic, maniple, and embroidered sandals.

The first of the acts of St. Lawrence, the healing of the widow Cyriaca, is shown in the same compartment on the right. "He came to the widow Cyriaca, who lived on the Caelium hill, where he found many Christians, who were concealed because of the persecution. He washed the feet of all of them and began to distribute the church treasure among them. When the widow Cyriaca saw the holy deacon she fell at his feet and begged him in the name of Christ to place his hands on her head, to heal her

*Las pinturas románicas del museo de Vich*, in *Forma*, Barcelona, 1904, I, p. 348, fig. 2; Antonio Muñoz, *Pittura romanica catalana, I paliotti dipinti dei Musei di Vich e di Barcellona*, in *Anuari*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona, 1907, I, pp. 102-103, fig. 8.

27. According to the Catalogue of the Barcelona Exhibition of 1888 (pp. 107-108) this altar-frontal was found in the church of San Lorenzo de los Dos Munts, but Rohault de Fleury (*op. cit.*, p. 241) states that it comes from the church of Pruitt, one of the parishes of the city of Vich. I have accepted the former prove-

nance until more definite proof is forthcoming to the contrary. The church called in Catalan Sant Llorenç del Munt belonged to a Benedictine foundation, to which donations were made during the tenth century. The eleventh century church has been fully discussed by J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, II, pp. 218 ff., figs. 131-136.

28. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. by William Caxton, ed. F. S. Ellis, London, 1900, IV, pp. 211 ff.

from her pain. Lawrence made the sign of the cross over her and also laid the cloth, with which he had dried the feet of the Christians, on her head and the widow was healed." The saint (LAVRENCIVS), clad in a yellow alb and orange dalmatic, touches with his right hand the head of the widow (CIRIACA), a diminutive figure in red who kneels at his feet. In the compartment below (Fig. 27) the deacon (LAVRENCIVS), wearing an orange dalmatic, is washing the feet of two Christians. One of these, a bearded figure dressed in a yellow tunic and green mantle, holds one foot in a circular basin, and the other convert, who is beardless, wears an orange tunic.

St. Lawrence performed many miracles in the curing of the blind, and the cure of the blind Crescentius is portrayed in the adjoining scene. "The same night he went to the house of a Christian man and found therein a blind man, and gave to him his sight by the sign of the cross." Clothed in a green dalmatic the saint (LAVRENCIVS) makes the sign of the cross over the head of the Christian (CRESCENCIVS CECVS). Crescentius wears a green tunic and yellow mantle and stoops before the saint in a half kneeling posture with outstretched hands. A small cross is depicted above his head.

In the lower right compartment (Fig. 29) the deacon is questioned concerning the church treasures. "And when the knights heard speak of the treasures, they took Lawrence and brought him to the provost, and the provost delivered him to Decius. And Decius Caesar said to him: Where be the treasures of the church, which we know well that thou hast hid? And he answered not. And he was inquired again of the treasures, and Laurence demanded dilation of three days, and Valerianus granted him on pledge of Hippolitus. And St. Laurence in these three days gathered together poor people, blind and lame, and presented them tofore Decius, in the palace of Salustine, and said: These here be the treasures perdurable, which shall not be minished, but increase, which he departed to each of them. The hands of these men have borne the treasures into heaven. . . . And then Decius was angry, and commanded that he should be beaten with scorpions, and that all manner of torments should be brought tofore him." In this scene the saint (LAVRENCIVS) is not accompanied by the blind and lame but stands alone before the emperor (DECIVS), who is seated in judgment on the left. Decius wears a yellow tunic and green mantle, and the deacon is clad in an orange dalmatic. The lower half of the figures is entirely lost.

The healing and baptism of the blind Lucillus is the last of the acts represented. "And there was in prison a paynim named Lucillus, which had lost the sight of his eyes with overmuch weeping. And St. Laurence promised to him to re-establish his sight if he would believe in Jesu Christ and receive baptism, and he required anon to be baptized. Then St. Laurence took water and said to him: All things in confession be washed. And when he had diligently informed him in the articles of the faith, and he confessed that he believed all, he shed water on his head, and baptized him in the name of Jesu Christ. And anon, he that had been blind received his sight again." The deacon





FIG. 25—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of *Altar-Frontal*. *Majestas Domini*





FIG. 26—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Acts of St. Lawrence



FIG. 27—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Acts of St. Lawrence





FIG. 28—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*

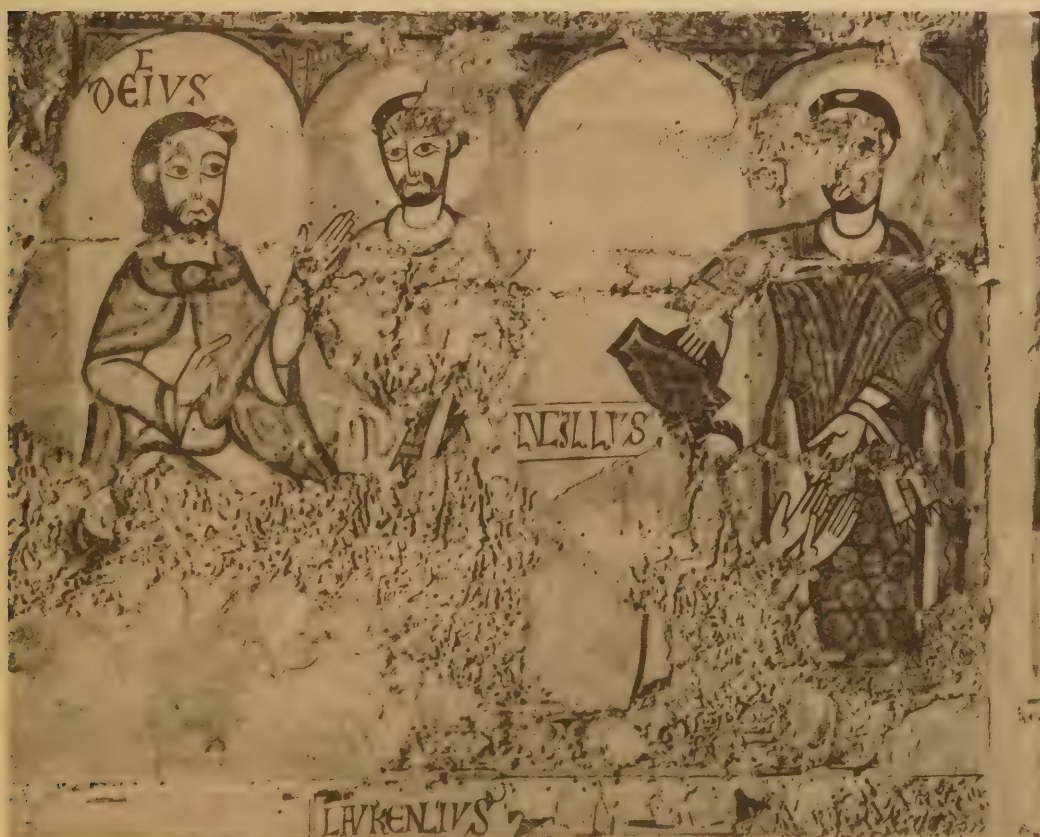


FIG. 29—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of Altar-Frontal. Acts of St. Lawrence*







(inscription missing), wearing a richly embroidered green dalmatic, pours the water of baptism from a pitcher over the head of the convert (LVCILLVS), who kneels before him with outstretched hands. Nothing remains of the figure of Lucillus except the hands, the top of the head, and a fragment of the yellow tunic.

The martyrdom of the saint which, according to the *Acts*, took place at night in the baths of Olympius, near the palace of Sallust, the historian, is depicted in the upper right compartment (Fig. 28). "And then said Decius: Bring hither a bed of iron, that Laurence contumax may lie thereon. And the ministers despoiled him, and laid him stretched out upon a gridiron of iron, and laid burning coals under, and held him with forks of iron. Then said Laurence to Valerianus: Learn, thou cursed wretch, that thy coals give to me refreshing of coldness, and make ready to thee torment perdurable. . . And after this he said with a glad cheer unto Decius, Thou cursed wretch, thou hast roasted that one side, turn that other, and eat. And then he, rendering thankings to our Lord, said: I thank thee, Lourd Jesu Christ, for I have deserved to enter into thy gates. And so gave up his spirit." The saint lies prone upon a green gridiron, supported by four legs; underneath appear long tongues of orange flames. At either end of the grill kneeling executioners (CARNIFIES) with forked sticks are shown in the act of turning the martyr in order that he may be roasted on all sides. The hands of the saint point upward in a gesture of speech and above him is written: LAVRENCIVS ELEVANS OCCVLOS SVOS IN DECIVM DIXIT ECCE MISER ASSASTI VNAM PARTEM REGIRA ALIAM ET MANDVCA.<sup>29</sup> The emperor (DECIVS) is enthroned at the left, with crossed legs and his right hand raised in a gesture of speech. He wears a short green tunic, yellow cloak, orange hose, and black sandals; the executioners are clothed in yellow tunics, and the saint is naked except for a yellow loin cloth.

The narrow bevel of the frame of the altar-frontal is colored red and the surface is embellished on each of the four sides with a diaper lozenge and swastika pattern.<sup>30</sup> Units of four red lozenges containing yellow swastikas alternate with units of four green lozenges containing black swastikas. The intersection of the black diagonal lines is emphasized by a yellow dot. The use of a reticulated lozenge containing crosses or swastikas is a common antique *motif*, which was freely adopted during the Middle Ages, especially in textiles, where it was employed as an all-over pattern.<sup>31</sup> As a border *motif* it appears in Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth century,<sup>32</sup> and this is undoubtedly the source of the form as it appears on our panel. The use of dots and half lozenges or half reels as filling *motifs* in the bead-and-reel ornament applied to the mandorla

29. Cf. the text of Mombritius, which reads: *Nunc ille: "Coctum est, devora, et experimentum cape, sit crudum an assum suavis"* (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, II, p. 321).

30. The panel is in such a bad state that most of the ornament of the frame has been lost, but enough remains to show that the same design was employed on all four sides.

31. For a discussion of this *motif* as an all-over pattern see my article in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 59-60.

32. E.g., Gospels of Lorsch (Boinet, *op.cit.*, pls. XV, XVI); Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8850 (*ibid.*, pl. XXI). It appears to be especially common in the Ada group of manuscripts.

and to the narrow bands which divide the upper and lower registers of the lateral compartments shows that the original significance of this antique design has been lost. The stucco relief, however, is sparingly employed and does not surround the lateral compartments on all four sides as on the Catalan stucco antependia.

The figure style of this altar-frontal betrays many archaic mannerisms common to the earlier painted panels of this series. The same facial types are repeated again and again, with no attempt at individualization. The bearded head of Christ in the central compartment (Fig. 25) is identical with that of St. Lawrence, Pope Sixtus, and Decius in the lateral scenes. St. Lawrence is invariably shown with a beard, whereas in the majority of mediaeval examples he is represented as a beardless youth. In each of the figures the heavily shaded eyes have the same large black pupil, which produces a staring effect, and the abnormally long nose terminates in diminutive nostrils. Wherever the face is shown in three-quarters view the nostril is rendered in the same manner as in the lateral compartments of the St. Martin panel from Montgrony<sup>33</sup> and on the Vich altar-canopy (Figs. 7 and 10). The mouth, turned down sharply at the corners, produces the same dour, solemn expression as that found on the two early antependia in the Barcelona Museum (Fig. 11) and in the Gospels of Perpignan,<sup>34</sup> a feature inherited from tenth century Mozarabic manuscripts (cf. Fig. 30). A *Majestas* page of an illuminated thirteenth century manuscript in the cathedral archives of Tortosa (Fig. 32) shows an analogous treatment of the moustache and closely cropped beard. The *tache* on the cheek, which we have already noted as a characteristic of Latin style,<sup>35</sup> does not appear in this panel as a circular spot but as a triangular patch of color, similar in form to that found on the Vich altar-canopy (Fig. 7). Modelling of the flesh tones, moreover, extends to the arms and hands and is analogous to the shading which appears so frequently in Catalan frescoes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>36</sup> The small ears, as usual, are placed too high and are rendered with complete disregard for anatomical truth.

Whereas the figure of the Saviour in the central panel might have been copied from an eleventh century model, this archaizing tendency does not appear in the lateral scenes, where the articulation of head and body is somewhat more naturalistic. The relationship of the figure style with that of Italy is apparent if we compare the figures of the Bishop Sixtus and the St. Lawrence in our panel (Fig. 26) with that of the bishop who officiates over the dead body of St. Magnus in the fresco of the cathedral at Anagni (Fig. 31). In both works the elongated heads, with large eyes, slightly sunken cheeks, and rounded beard are set on slender necks and tall bodies. The kneeling figure of Cyriaca in the St. Lawrence panel shows the same block-like head in three-quarters pose and the same heavy chin as that of the attendant ecclesiastics in the Italian

33. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 1.

34. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, fig. 32.

35. *Art Studies*, II, pp. 48-49.

36. E.g., Pedret, Sant Miquel de la Seo, Sant Climent de Tahull, Santa Maria de Bohí, Santa Maria de Mur, Ginestarre de Cardós, Santa Eulalia d'Estahon, illustrated in *Les pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. I-IV.





FIG. 32—Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of a Manuscript  
Majestas Domini (Pboto Mas)



FIG. 33—Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of a Manuscript  
Majestas Domini (Pboto Mas)



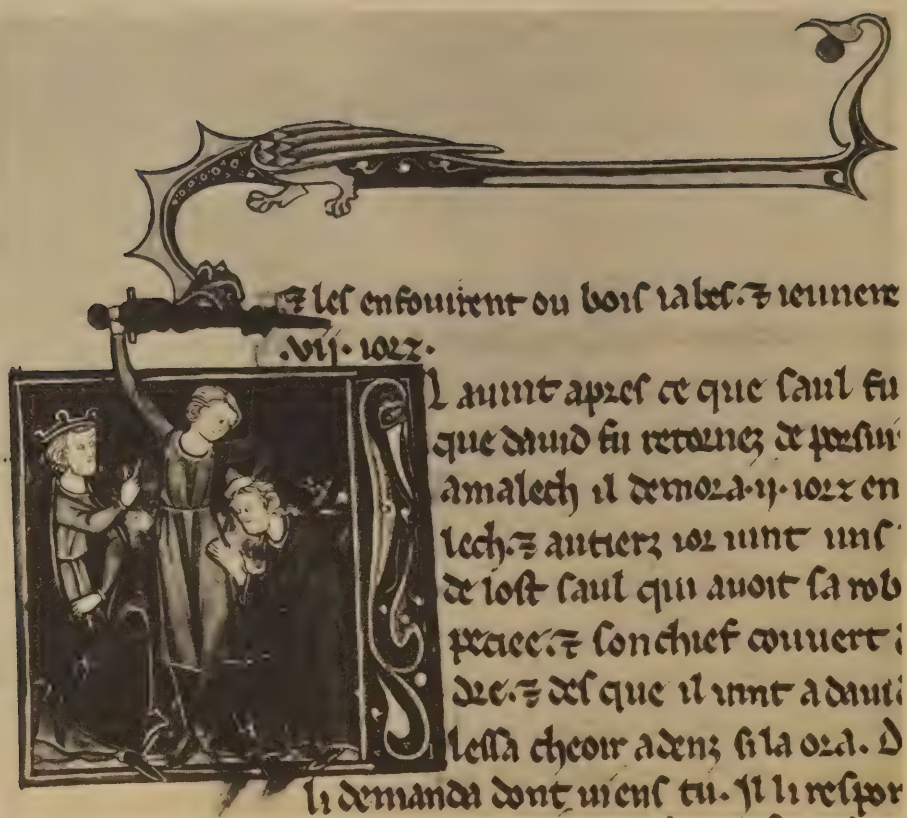


FIG. 34—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Bible



FIG. 35—Brussels, Royal Library: Page of a Manuscript



fresco. This similarity between the two works is not due to any direct influence but is explained by the common basis of Latin style which underlies both works.

The Catalan panel shows affinities with the Latin tradition of southern France and Italy rather than with the traditions of northern France and England. There is none of the fluttering drapery style which we have noted in altar-frontals previously studied. In Fig. 25 the Saviour's dark green tunic and red mantle fall in straight lines to the ankles and the folds are indicated by scrolls and spirals which are decorative but quite meaningless. The body is too large for the head and the voluminous costume gives the figure an inflated effect about the shoulders. This is not due to accident or carelessness on the part of the artist but must be considered as further evidence of the relatively late persistence of an earlier Spanish drapery mannerism. The drawing of the human figure with a diminutive head and disproportionately large costume is a common feature in tenth century Mozarabic manuscripts, such as the Codex Vigilanus (Fig. 30), and in isolated instances this tradition persists as late as the thirteenth century, as shown by a page from an illuminated manuscript at Tortosa (Fig. 33).

The use of blind arcades as a background is an old artistic formula which was employed on Early Christian sarcophagi and occasionally in Carolingian ivories. A characteristic example of its use in the twelfth century is shown in Lombardy on the west façade of Modena cathedral, where a blind arcade is employed as a background for scenes from Genesis. In our panel the proportions of the arcading are analogous to those seen on the lintel of the west portal of the church of St.-Gilles of the second half of the twelfth century, and it is not at all improbable that the *motif* in our panel may have been copied from such a sculptured monument. The derivative character of the panel is shown by the absence of supporting shafts and the introduction of palmettes in the spandrels of the arches. The Spanish artist, however, has remained true to the color tradition of Catalonia and has painted the arcades with alternate red and yellow backgrounds, thereby producing strong color contrast which throws the figures into high relief. This use of an alternating color scheme, which is employed in the costumes of the figures as well as in the backgrounds, plays an important rôle in Spanish Romanesque painting. Interest and variety are achieved not by an individualization of the facial types, but by a skilful and subtle juxtaposition of primary colors.

St. Lawrence is represented with the tonsure and deacon's vestments: dalmatic, alb, stole, maniple, and embroidered sandals. The alb is invariably yellow, but in each scene the richly brocaded dalmatic is rendered with a different pattern and a different color. Wherever Decius appears he is portrayed with all the attributes of a mediaeval tyrant. He wears the "mandyas," or long imperial cloak clasped at the neck, which was worn by officials and dignitaries,<sup>37</sup> and he is enthroned on a curule chair or Dagobert throne, with legs crossed.

37. For a discussion of the *mandyas* see W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte-Marie-Antique*, Rome 1911, pp. 187 ff.

The portrayal of a seated king or tyrant with the left leg crossed over the right characterizes the sovereign in the exercise of his royal functions. This attitude was reserved for royalty or for great lords and lieutenants endowed with sovereign power and, according to Martin, had a symbolic value, expressing anger or any violent emotion.<sup>38</sup> Whenever the king of France is represented hieratically as sovereign legislator (*type de majesté*) both feet are on the ground,<sup>39</sup> but whenever the king is depicted as a judge, endowed with supreme executive authority, and giving orders, the attitude changes; he leans backward with an air of haughty contempt and crosses his legs. "If he is angry, if he gives an order, if he condemns a guilty person, if he presents the sword to knights who are going to fight his enemy, the gesture is accentuated and becomes violent. In this state the legs no longer rest naturally on the pavement but are crossed, one over the other. If the king is enraged, if he condemns to death an unfortunate who resists his will, the movement is even more exaggerated; moreover, if, as judge, he reflects and pardons, the gesture also appears, to show that mercy is an act of the all-powerful."<sup>40</sup> The attitude had a menacing significance and accompanied the most terrible sentences. Thus in a twelfth century manuscript in the Royal Library at Brussels (Fig. 35) the king pronounces a death sentence with the left leg crossed over the right; the executioner swings a huge axe and is about to strike off the head of a prisoner who lies on the ground with both hands bound. In a thirteenth century Bible in the Morgan collection (Fig. 34) the executioner uses a large sword and the unfortunate culprit leans forward and begs for mercy.

In these examples the left leg is crossed over the right, but other miniatures show the right leg crossed over the left, as in the twelfth century Gospels of Limoges, in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 36), and in a Gothic manuscript at Brussels (Fig. 37). In the Limoges Gospels Herod not only crosses his legs but seizes his beard and betrays violent emotion by the expression of his countenance. There appears to have been no fixed rules as to which leg should be crossed, although according to mediaeval law procedure the judge "should be seated on his chair like an enraged lion; he should throw the right leg over the left, and if he cannot render a just verdict he should reflect a hundred and twenty-three times."<sup>41</sup>

The origin of the *motif* of crossed legs is unknown. It is seldom found in Italian art during the Middle Ages. Martin has suggested that it may have originated in Germany or in England, and entered France after the Norman Conquest. During the twelfth century it appears on works of art in France; its use becomes widespread during the

38. Henri Martin, *Les enseignements des miniatures, attitude royale*, in *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 55 année, LV, 1913, pp. 173 ff., where the attitude of crossed legs is fully discussed. According to W. Deonna (*Rev. arch.*, XXII, 1913, pp. 344 ff.) the attitude had a magic value, and he cites examples showing that in the classical period the *motif* expressed sorrow and was usually restricted to the lower classes of society.

39. On French seals, dating from those of Henry I of France (1031-1060), the king is invariably portrayed as a *type de majesté* with both feet on the ground.

40. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

41. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 1828, p. 763; Michelet, *Origines du droit français*, 1837, p. 314, quoted by Martin (*op. cit.*, pp. 180-181).





FIG. 36—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Limoges Gospels



FIG. 37—Brussels, Royal Library: Page of  
Gothic Manuscript



FIG. 38—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Enamel





FIG. 39—*Brussels, Royal Library: Page of a Manuscript*



FIG. 40—*Santiago, Cathedral: Page of a Manuscript (Photo Mas)*



following century, especially in the reign of St. Louis,<sup>42</sup> and the custom is mentioned as late as the sixteenth century by Erasmus.<sup>43</sup> Frequently during the twelfth century the legs are not crossed, as shown by Catalan antependia (St. Vincent panel, Lerida; St. Andrew panel, Vich), or an enamel in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 38), where Herod, in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents, is depicted with both feet on the ground. The *motif* of crossed legs does not occur in Spain on Mozarabic monuments and its use in this antependium, in the scene of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, is further evidence of French influence in the art of Catalonia.

An important clue to the date of this antependium is furnished by the vestments worn by Pope Sixtus, who is depicted in the upper left corner with a yellow mitre, alb, pontifical, stole, embroidered sandals, and crozier. The mitre shown here is the "horned mitre" (*mitre cornue*) and has the shape which was common during the second half of the twelfth century. In tenth century Spain the ecclesiastics are often represented with a tall pointed cap as in the Codex Vigilanus and the Codex Aemilianensis,<sup>44</sup> and in Italy the earliest form of the mitre, which was derived from a non-liturgical headdress, the *camelaucum*, had the shape of a cone similar to that found in the *Liber Floridus* at Ghent.<sup>45</sup> The cone-shaped hat was succeeded about the year 1000 by a hemispherical cap, with an orphrey or *circulus* round the bottom.<sup>46</sup> Occasional examples occur during the late eleventh century in which the top of the cap is indented, such as that worn by St. Amand in Fig. 41, but after the year 1100 the cap loses its circular form entirely and invariably shows a depression over the center of the forehead.<sup>47</sup> Prior to the year 1125 the points are usually low and round, such as that worn by St. Theodemirus in Fig. 40, a page from a manuscript in the cathedral of Santiago, dated 1129.<sup>48</sup> The horns of the mitre were usually reinforced with a lining of linen, leather, or parchment, cut in the form of a semicircle or triangle, and at times the points turned inward, as shown in the Letters of St. Augustine at Vich (Fig. 42).

In Spanish examples of the second half of the twelfth century the points of the mitre

42. The attitude was so closely associated with royalty that in fables and romances, where animals play the parts of men, lions, monkeys, and other beasts are shown with crossed legs when represented as kings and queens (*ibid.*, p. 186).

43. Erasmus, *De civilitate morum puerilium*, Freiburg, 1530, says "this habit of throwing the right leg over the left was an ancient custom of royalty but it is now poor taste (*dextro pede in laevum femur injecto sedere, priscorum regum mos est, sed improbatum*)." The custom is mentioned as late as the eighteenth century in *Civilité puérile et bonnête, dressée par un missionnaire*, 1749, which states: "il est incivil de branler les jambes quand on est assis, comme font les petits enfants qui ne peuvent s'en empêcher. Il ne faut pas aussi mettre une jambe sur l'autre: cela n'appartient qu'aux grands seigneurs et aux maîtres" (Martin, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-186).

44. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 6; VI, 2, fig. 7.

45. Other examples are illustrated in a baptismal register, Exultet Roll, in the cathedral of Bari; in a collection of canons in the Vatican, codex no. 1339; and in the lower church of San Clemente (Joseph Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907, figs. 214, 216, pp. 458-9).

46. Miniature in *Vita S. Willibrorde*, Gotha, Herzogl. Bibl. (*ibid.*, fig. 218).

47. Cf. illuminated manuscript in the cathedral library of Cologne, which represents Archbishop Friedrich of Cologne (1100-1131) (*ibid.*, fig. 215).

48. This interesting miniature represents Bishop Theodemirus in the act of discovering the tombs of Santiago and his disciples Theodorus and Athanasius. The bishop wears a white mitre with gold *fasciae* (P. Fidel Fita and D. Aureliano Fernández-Guerra, *Recuerdos de un viaje á Santiago de Galicia*, Madrid, 1880, p. 72, n. 2).

become higher, and in the final evolution of the type the horns are high and pointed and are worn over each ear with an opening front to back. It is this form which appears in our panel, where the horns of the mitre end in high, sharp points, so that the headdress assumes the outlines of two triangles. Close parallels to this example are found in a twelfth century manuscript at Brussels (Fig. 39), on a late twelfth century fresco in the cloister of St.-Sernin at Toulouse, and on the tomb of a bishop in the Catalan cloister of Elne, dated in the year 1186.<sup>49</sup> The "horned mitre," in fact, was not only in widespread use during the second half of the twelfth century,<sup>50</sup> but is sometimes found during the first half of the thirteenth century, as shown by French seals<sup>51</sup> and the frescoes of Quattro Coronati at Rome,<sup>52</sup> where the points curve inward as in Fig. 31. In richer examples an orphrey was often worn over the indentation, as shown in Fig. 43<sup>53</sup> but in our panel the narrow orphrey or *circulus* appears only around the crown. The two long *fasciae*, or *fimbriae*, attached to the back of the headdress and ending in a fringe which falls over the right shoulder in the same manner as in the Toulouse fresco and the Letters of St. Augustine (Fig. 42) are also useful as a test for date, since the *fasciae* were often absent prior to the year 1150 but are almost invariably found after that period.<sup>54</sup>

That this panel must be placed in the second half of the twelfth century is confirmed by other details. The volute of the crozier held by Pope Sixtus is a twelfth century type, terminates in a cross, and has the simple curve which was common throughout the twelfth century.<sup>55</sup> The scene of the washing of the feet of the proselyte by St. Law-

49. Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 625. Other works of art of the middle or second half of the twelfth century which show the same form of the mitre as that in our panel are: page from an illuminated manuscript, cod. no. O. II, 11, cathedral library, Modena (A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, New Haven, 1917, pl. 141, 4); mural painting in the hypogaeum called Platonica, Rome (Charles de Linas, *Anciens vêtements sacerdotaux et anciens tissus conservés en France*, Paris, 1862, fig. 6, pl. facing p. 150); seal of Guillaume de Champagne, archbishop of Rheims (1169-1177) (G. Demay, *Le costume au moyen âge d'après les sceaux*, Paris, 1880, fig. 365); Lambacher Willeram manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, cod. theol. lat. IV, 150 (Georg Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. CXXIII, figs. 414-15); Missal from Millstatt, Klagenfurt, Archiv des Hist. Vereins (*ibid.*, pl. CXXVI, fig. 427); Salzburger Antiphonar, Stiftsbibl., St. Peter (*ibid.*, pl. IC, fig. 337); Passau MS., Munich, Staatsbibl., Cml. 11004, fol. 14a (*ibid.*, pl. XXII, fig. 73).

50. Cf. Le Mans, cathedral, window of St. Julien (Eugène Hucher, *Vitraux peints de la cathédrale du Mans*, Paris, 1865, pls. 22-25); Douai, library, no. 257, frontispiece of a manuscript from the book of St. Augustine on the Trinity, c. 1165 (Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, II, 1, fig. 233); for a list of other monuments see Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 463; Enlart, *Le costume*, Paris, 1916, p. 376, n. 2; Demay, *op. cit.*, figs. 335, 343, 363, 371;

Egerton Beck, *The Mitre and Tiara in Heraldry and Ornament*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXIII, 1913, pp. 221-224, 261-264. An example as early as the year 1102 at Maestricht is cited by Enlart (*op. cit.*, p. 376) and at the end of the eleventh century a horned mitre appears in the frescoes of S. Cecilia in Trastevere (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 238, fig. 2), but these sporadic exceptions do not alter the general rule. About the year 1200 the "horned mitre" was replaced by a new type in which the horns were worn over the front of the forehead and the back of the head, a disposition which has persisted to the present day (Braun, *op. cit.*, figs. 222-223, p. 464).

51. Braun, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

52. In the chapel of St. Sylvester (1243-1254) (Wilpert, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 269).

53. Cf. also enameled tomb of Ulger, bishop of Angers, who died in 1149 (Ernest Rupin, *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, pl. XIII, figs. 157, 162); Lambacher Willeram manuscript, Berlin, Staatsbibl. (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. CXXIV, fig. 419); see Braun, *op. cit.*, fig. 219; Demay, *op. cit.*, fig. 372.

54. Braun, *op. cit.*, pp. 459f.

55. There is no reason for thinking that the crozier was ever carried by the pope, but this fact did not prevent artists from representing the pope holding it, as shown by our panel and a page from the Bible of St. Martial of Limoges (*The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, pl. XII,



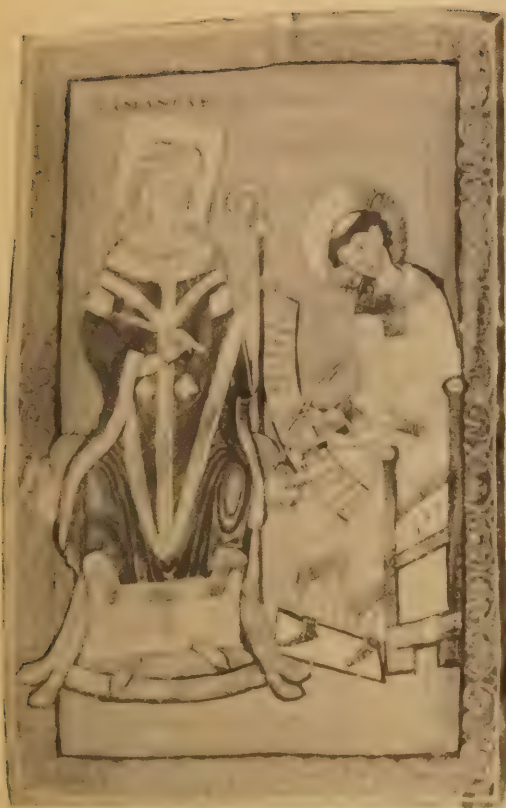


FIG. 41—Valenciennes, Library: Page of Manuscript of Life of St. Amand



FIG. 42—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Page of Codex of the Letters of St. Augustine



FIG. 43—Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of a Missal (Photo Mas)



FIG. 44—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page of Drogo Sacramentary



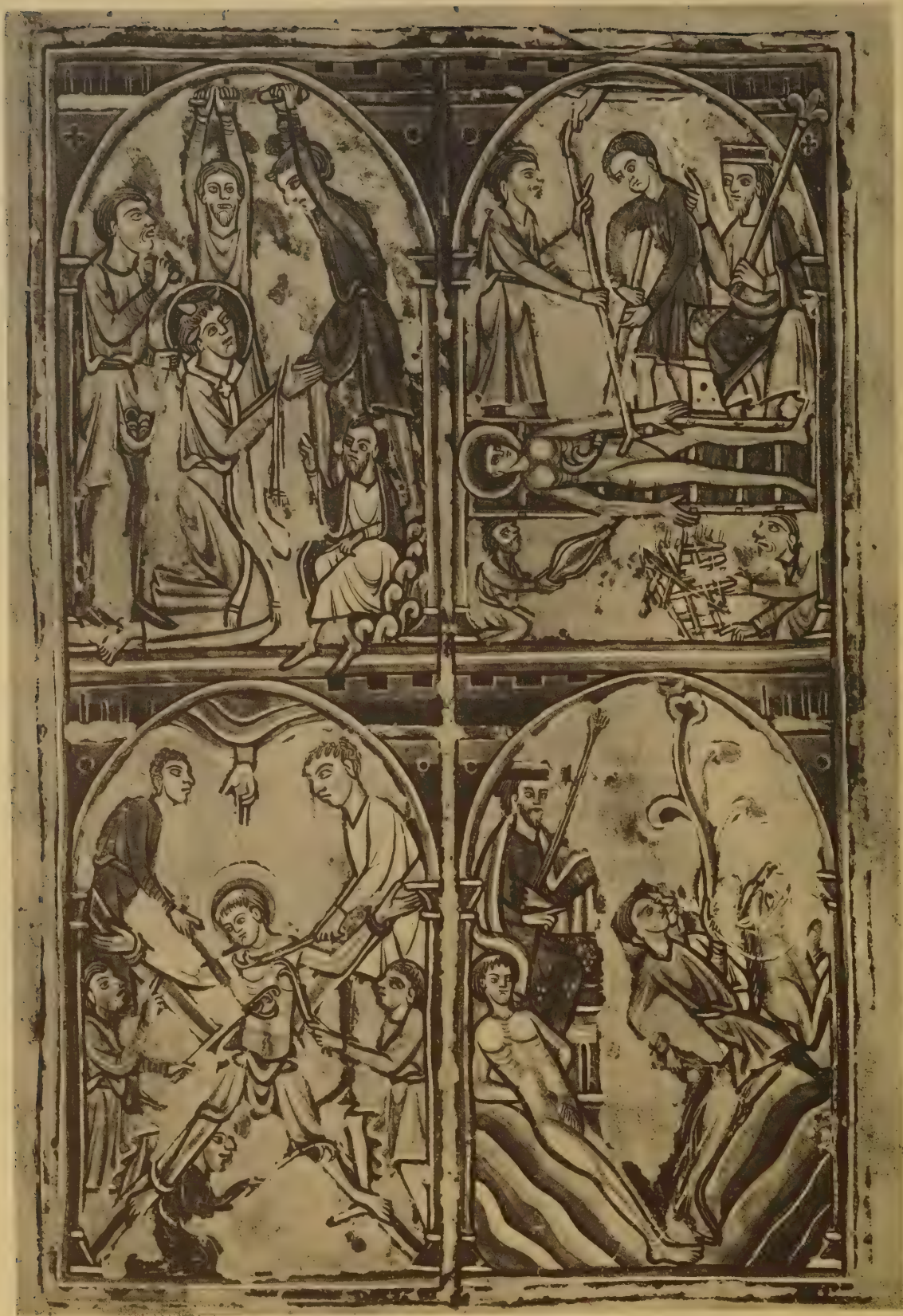


FIG. 45—New York, Morgan Library: Page of Huntingfield Psalter



rence almost duplicates line for line the bowl and attitude found in the scene of the washing of the feet of St. Peter by Christ in a fragment of stained glass at Chartres,<sup>56</sup> and the same attitude is found again on a late twelfth century crucifix at Florence (Fig. 46). The hair of Decius in the scene of the martyrdom ends in a short proto-Gothic curl,<sup>57</sup> and the richly embroidered sandals worn by the pope, Decius, and St. Lawrence are seldom found before the year 1150 but are common during the second half of the twelfth and in the succeeding century.<sup>58</sup> The bead-and-reel stucco ornament, the foliate scroll painted on the sides of the throne, the palaeography, especially the form of the letters T, E, S, H, and the meticulous manner of inscribing the name of each figure with a label,<sup>59</sup> all indicate an advanced date in the twelfth century. Rohault de Fleury has dated the panel on stylistic grounds in the following century,<sup>60</sup> but in view of the numerous analogies which we have noted above with monuments of the late twelfth century, it should be placed in the second half of the twelfth century.

The iconography of our antependium has a local interest inasmuch as St. Lawrence, like St. Vincent, was a native of Aragon. A small church in the neighborhood of Huesca, Nostra Doña de Loret, founded, according to tradition, shortly after St. Lawrence's martyrdom, marks the spot where he is said to have been born. He served as a priest at Huesca and Saragossa before his departure to Rome, and his parents, Orentius and Patienza, are still honored (May 1) at Huesca as local saints. Few martyrdoms of the first three centuries are better attested than his, which took place during the reign of Valerian (August 10, 258), and since the fourth century he has been one of the most honored martyrs of the Roman church. His name, together with that of the Spanish martyr St. Vincent, is included in the canon and in the common litany of saints. A panegyric in verse, written by Pope Damasus (366-84) was engraved in marble and placed over his tomb, and details of his death were related by the church fathers, such as St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Augustine, and the poet Prudentius.<sup>61</sup> Constantine the Great was the first to erect a small oratory over his burial place,<sup>62</sup> which was enlarged

fig. 14). For a discussion of the evolution of these types see Egerton Beck, *The Crozier in Heraldry and Ornament*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XXIV (1913-1914), pp. 335 ff.; Charles Cahier and Arthur Martin, *Des crosses pastorales*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie*, Paris, 1856, IV, pp. 145 ff.; Enlart, *op. cit.*, pp. 354 ff.

56. Male, *op. cit.*, fig. 64, p. 77.

57. For a discussion of this see *Art Studies*, II, p. 62.

58. Thirteenth century examples, similar in pattern and style to those shown in our panel are illustrated by Braun, *op. cit.*, figs. 190, 193, 194, and the sandals worn by Decius in the scene of the martyrdom are closely analogous in cut to those found on a thirteenth century tomb at St.-Denis (Enlart, *op. cit.*, fig. 281, p. 264).

59. Numerous examples might be cited, but typical illustrations are shown by the Gumperts-bibel in Erlangen (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII, figs. 118-122) and the obverse side of the

Metterlacher reliquary cross, school of Verdun, c. 1220 (Otto von Falke and Heinrich Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters und andere Kunstwerke der Kunst-Historischen Ausstellung zu Düsseldorf*, Frankfurt am Main, 1904, pl. 92). Other examples are also illustrated by Von Falke, *passim*.

60. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 241.

61. His name occurs in the most ancient calendars, such as the fourth century *Catalogus Liberianus* or *Bucherianus* and the fifth century calendar of Ptolemaeus Silvius.

62. According to the Almanac of Philocalus for the year 354, which contains an inventory of the principal feasts of the Roman martyrs of the middle of the fourth century, his grave was to be found on the Via Tiburtina. The itineraries of the graves of the Roman martyrs, as given in the seventh century, mention the burial place as in the Catacomb of Cyriaca in agro Verano.

by Pope Sixtus III (432-40) and Pelagius II (579-90), and numerous churches were founded in his honor at Rome between the sixth and eighth centuries.<sup>63</sup> In the fifth century, according to Theodorus, his relics were associated with those of St. Stephen at Constantinople; in the sixth, Justinian also sought his relics; and his cult spread early to Algeria,<sup>64</sup> France,<sup>65</sup> and Spain. A church of St. Lawrence is said to have existed at Merida<sup>66</sup> and one at Huesca<sup>67</sup> in the time of the Goths. His relics were revered in Spain as early as the fifth century<sup>68</sup> and Mozarabic churches were founded in his honor.<sup>69</sup> He is especially venerated at Saragossa,<sup>70</sup> Tarragona, Valencia,<sup>71</sup> and Segovia;<sup>72</sup> the cathedrals of Huesca and Burgos<sup>73</sup> and the royal monastery of the Escorial bear his name. He was no less venerated in Catalonia, where churches dedicated to Sant Llorenç are found as early as the tenth century.<sup>74</sup> His popularity is shown by the fact that more than ninety religious establishments,<sup>75</sup> and countless valleys, hills, towns, and rivers bear the name of the martyr, attesting the strong impression of his cult on the soil of Spain.

St. Lawrence was the first of the saints to share with the apostles the honor of being represented in churches not especially dedicated to him. His emblems are a clasped book and gridiron, and he sometimes carries a cross. He was depicted as early as the fourth century in the catacomb frescoes at Naples and between the fifth and eighth centuries he was frequently represented in Italian mosaics, frescoes, gold glass, gems,

63. For a list of these churches and a discussion of the St. Lawrence legend, as well as bibliography, see de Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, pp. 536-37.

64. In the fifth century the relics of St. Lawrence were kept in a sanctuary near Constantine. For other evidence of the spread of the cult in northern Africa see Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 176-77.

65. Toward the end of the reign of Childebert II (511-558) a basilica was consecrated to St. Lawrence on the right bank of the Seine. St. Gregory of Tours also mentions the existence of an ancient basilica at Paris (*ibid.*, IV, p. 158).

66. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 234.

67. The ancient oratory is said to have been frequented by the Christians until the Arab invasion of 716. All the sanctuaries were then overthrown, with the exception of that of St. Peter. In 1096, when Huesca was reconquered by the Christians, King D. Pedro rebuilt the old church.

68. At Loja, diocese of Elvira, a fifth century inscription has been found containing the names of the saints venerated in the ancient basilica and among them that of St. Lawrence (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 235).

69. There is a curious reliquary, a small oval tower, at St. Isidore, Leon, dating from 1086, which carries this inscription: *In nomine Domini ob honorem S. Laurentii, Rodericus Gundisalbiz hoc signum fieri iussit in era CXXIII.*

70. Saragossa claims to have had St. Lawrence within her walls as a student and an archdeacon, and his cult continued during the Middle Ages. It had an ancient

church dedicated to him and at Charlemagne's time an altar with his relics.

71. Valencia disputes with Huesca the honor of having given birth to the saint, but this claim has little foundation. A chalice in the cathedral of Valencia is believed to have been a part of the treasure which was confided to the archdeacon to be distributed to the poor.

72. The convent of St. Lawrence at Segovia was mentioned in 1148. The day of St. Lawrence at Segovia is an important industrial feast day. The workmen of the different trades unions bring their offerings, and the blacksmiths, masons, stonecutters, sculptors, workers in copper, etc., come in turn and honor the memory of the saint.

73. Don Sancho, son of Ferdinand the Great, inherited "*in burgensi civitate ecclesiam S. Laurentii.*"

74. E. g., Sant Llorenç de Beuda, monastery of Sant Llorenç de Vall de Llord, Sant Llorenç de Morunys, Sant Llorenç del Munt, or del Cerdans (les Guillerries), Sant Llorenç del Munt (del Vallès), Sant Llorenç, near Baga, Sant Llorenç Savall, or Ç a Vall, chapel of Sant Llorenç at Vich (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, II).

75. Throughout Europe more than twenty cathedrals bear his name, and there are more than two thousand sanctuaries: three hundred in Italy, seven hundred in France, five hundred in Germany, one hundred and thirty in England, sixty-six in Belgium, fifty in Denmark and Sweden, twenty-three in Holland, etc. For a discussion of the religious institutions bearing the name of the saint in Spain, see Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 234-242.



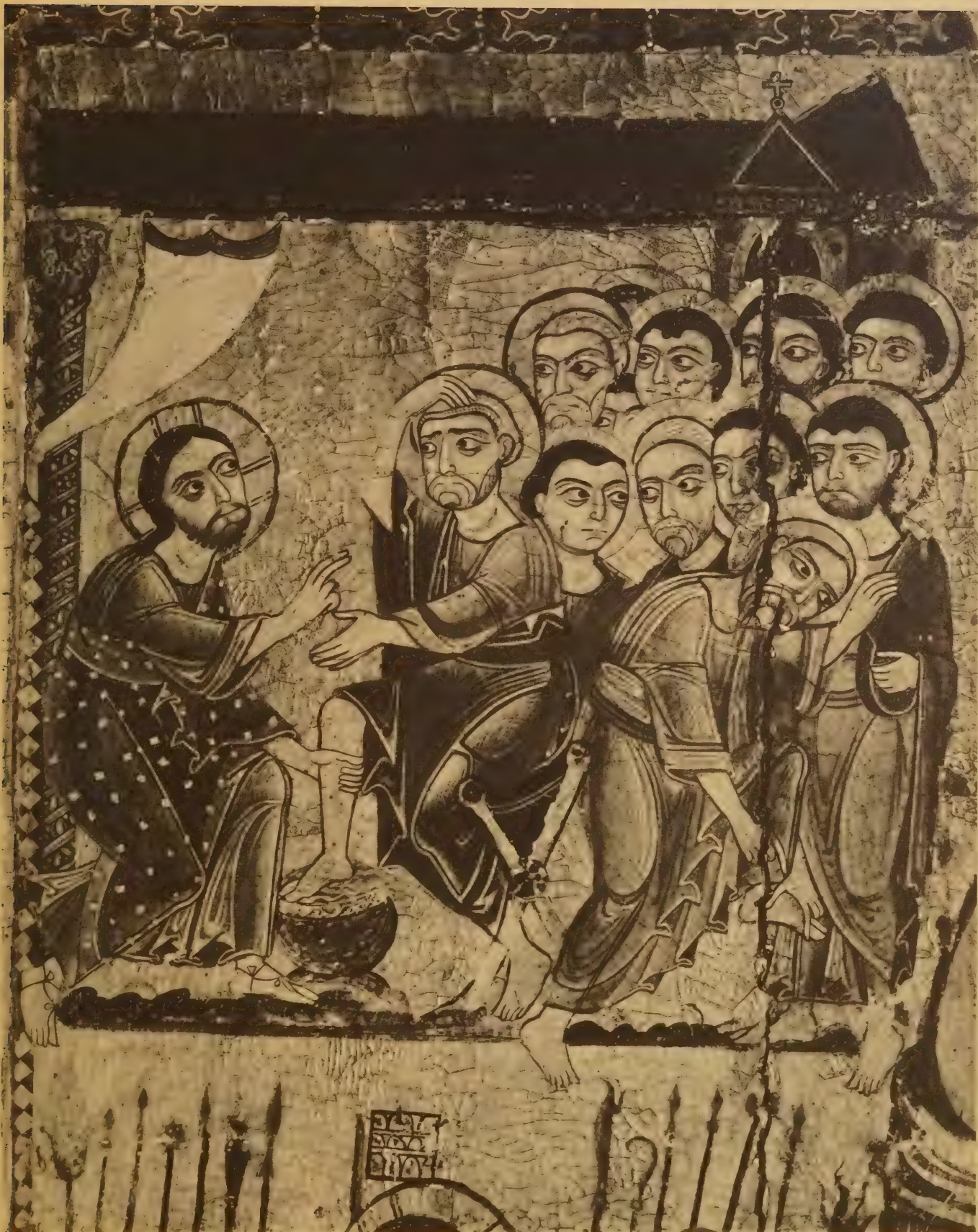


FIG. 46—Florence, Galleria Antica e Moderna: Detail from Crucifix





FIG. 47—San Cugat, Church: Casket (Photo Mas)

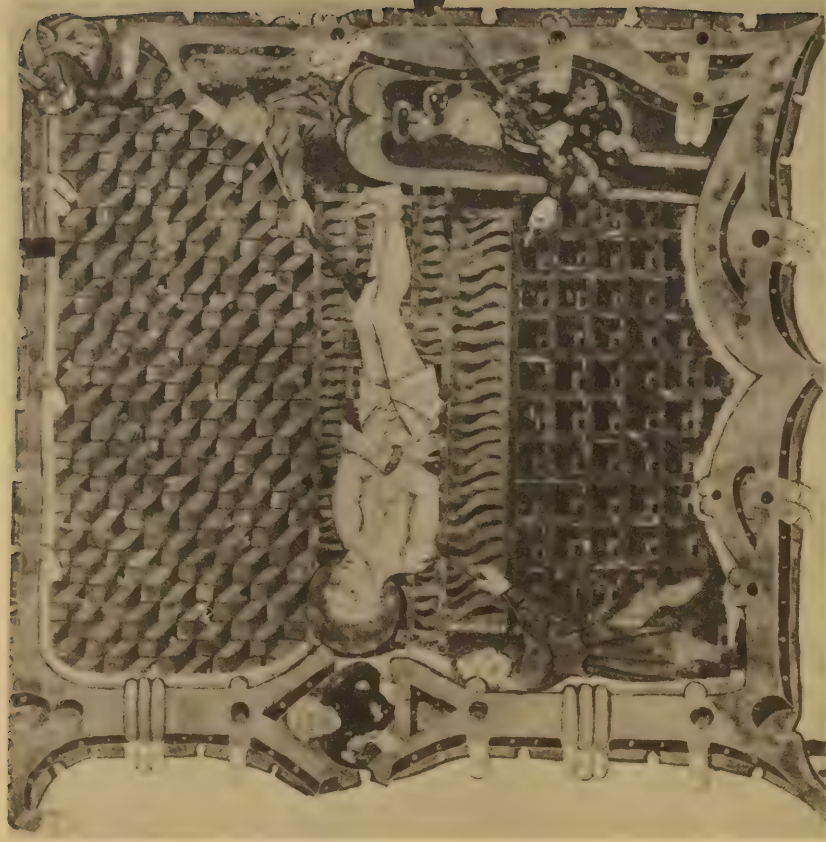


FIG. 48—Madrid, Archaeological Museum: Page of Choir Book  
(Photo Moreno)



FIG. 49—Barcelona, Museum: Fragment of an Antependium



and textiles, where he is usually shown with other saints, such as Peter and Paul.<sup>76</sup> One of the earliest recorded scenes of St. Lawrence is the lost mosaic in the apse of the church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. at Rome, built by Constantine the Great, which may have depicted his martyrdom on the fiery grill.<sup>77</sup> The earliest preserved monuments which depict this scene are an early bronze medal in the Barberini collection at Rome (see the cover design of this magazine)<sup>78</sup> and a cameo in the Vettori collection.<sup>79</sup> On the obverse side of the Barberini medal the saint lies prone on a gridiron<sup>80</sup> with fire underneath. An orant issues from the body and a crown of martyrdom is placed on the head of the martyr by a hand from above. Alpha and omega are inscribed on either side of his head, and Decius is enthroned behind. On the Vettori cameo an executioner at either end of the grill stirs the coals and a third fetches a pile of wood on his shoulders.

From Italy this type passed northward and in later St. Lawrence cycles the martyrdom is seldom omitted. In the Drogo Sacramentary of the ninth century (Fig. 44) the martyrdom and distribution of the gifts to the poor are shown in an initial D.<sup>81</sup> The saint, naked except for a loin cloth, lies prone on a large grill suspended by chains from a horizontal bar, while seven executioners prod the coals and bind him more firmly,

76. Some of the more important of these are: *Frescoes*: Naples, cemetery of S. Gennaro, St. Lawrence offers a wreath to St. Paul, inscribed LAVRE . . . , fourth century (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, II, pl. 100/1); Albano, cemetery of S. Maria della Stella, holds a cross, inscr. LAVRENTIVS, sixth century (*ibid.*, pl. 89/3); Rome, cemetery of St. Valentine, nimbed and bearded (642-649) (Dom H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'au VIII siècle*, Paris, 1907, I, p. 577). *Mosaics*: Ravenna, mausoleum of Galla Placidia, St. Lawrence carries a gemmed cross and book and approaches the grill with fire burning underneath, fifth century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 233/1; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 49); Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, stands with nimbed saints and holds laurel crown, sixth century (Corrado Ricci, *Ravenna*, Bergamo, 1906, fig. 56); Rome, S. Lorenzo f.l.m., holds long cross, book, and model of church, inscr. SCS LAVRENTIVS, sixth century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 271); Rome, S. Prisco di Capua Vetere, now destroyed, shown with sixteen saints offering crowns, inscr. LAVRENTIVS, sixth century (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 254/2). *Gold Glass*: London, Br. Mus., stands with Christ, Sts. Peter, Paul, and other saints, inscr. LAVRENTEVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 186/2); Florence, Museum, inscr. LAVRENTIVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 188/7); Rome, Vatican, inscr. VITO (VIV) AS IN NOMINE LAVRETI (*ibid.*, III, pl. 189/2); Rome, Vatican, head and shoulder only, carries cross over right shoulder, inscr. LAVRENTI (VS) (*ibid.*, pl. 189/1); Rome, Vatican, stands with St. Cyprian, holds rotulus, inscr. LAVRENTIVS CRIPRANVS HILARVS VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER SEMPER REFRIGERIS IMPACE DEI (*ibid.*, III, pl. 189/6); provenance unknown, seated between Sts. Peter and Paul, inscr. LAVRENTIVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 189/7); Pesaro, Museo

Oliveri, unknown provenance, fragment, stands with St. Agnes and Christ, inscr. LAVRENTIVS (*ibid.*, III, pl. 191/6); provenance unknown, fragment, holds the monogram and cross (Dom Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907, I, col. 15). *Textiles*: Strassburg, Forrer collection, the saint has also been construed as St. Mauritius (R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis*, Strassburg, 1893, pl. XVII, 3).

77. The church also housed a silver relief, given by Constantine, which contained medallions with the representation of the martyrdom of St. Lawrence: "(posuit) ante corpus beati Laurenti martyris argentoclasas sigillis passionem ipsius cum lucernas binixes argenteas." (*Lib. Pont.*, ed. Duchesne, I, p. 181), cited by Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, p. 953. See also Cabrol, *op. cit.*, I, col. 423 f. 78. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 480/8; Cabrol, *op. cit.*, col. 430 f., fig. 79. The medal is inscribed SVCESS AVIVAS.

79. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 478/43; Cabrol, *op. cit.*, col. 430, fig. 77. The martyrdom is also found on a fragment of gold glass, inscribed LAVRE (N) CIV (S), which may have been copied from the gem (*ibid.*, I, col. 427, fig. 74).

80. It is worthy of note that the grill is common to St. Lawrence and St. Vincent, both of whom were Spanish in origin and it is not improbable that the tradition of the martyrdom of St. Vincent was influenced by the story of St. Lawrence.

81. The text which accompanies this miniature reads: *Da nobis q(uaesumus) Omnipotens D(eus) vitiorum nostrorum flammam extinguere qui beato Laurentio tribuisti tormentorum suorum incendia superare* (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 149).





FIG. 50—*Barcelona, Museum: Detail of Antependium. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 51—*Barcelona, Museum: Detail of Antependium. Martyrdom of St. Lawrence (Photo Mas)*



under the supervision of the proconsul. The essential features of this scene did not change during the ensuing centuries. A typical Romanesque example is illustrated by the Huntingfield Psalter, an English manuscript of the late twelfth century, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 45), where four martyrdoms are shown on a single page. In the martyrdom of St. Lawrence the enthroned Decius holds a long scepter in his left hand and his legs are not crossed. Two guards in the foreground, one of whom holds a bellows, fan the flames and two others torture the saint with long hooks. The grill is shown in a vertical position and the *Dextera Domini* appears from the clouds above.

This Romanesque formula, in which Decius is seated at one side and where two, three, or four executioners prod the body of the saint or bind him more firmly, continued during the Gothic period. A simplified version is found again on a mutilated Catalan antependium in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (Fig. 51). On a fourteenth century casket in the church of S. Cugat (Fig. 47) the saint lies on a grill represented vertically, as in the Huntingfield Psalter and in Fig. 48, a page from a fifteenth century choir book at Madrid, where two executioners prod him. The most complete series of the acts of St. Lawrence is found in the twelfth and thirteenth century frescoes of the church of S. Lorenzo f.l.m. at Rome, where no less than three cycles are preserved.<sup>82</sup> The frequency with which the acts and martyrdom are found in all countries of western Europe during the Middle Ages is a further indication of the widespread cult of this early Spanish martyr.<sup>83</sup>

82. Cf. Wilpert, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 951 ff., figs. 448 ff.

83. In addition to the Early Christian examples already cited the following works of art may be noted in which St. Lawrence appears either as a single devotional figure or in the scene of the martyrdom: *Italy*: Mosaics: Rome, S. Lorenzo super S. Clementem, lost mosaic, eighth century (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 72-73); Rome S. Clemente, twelfth century, seated, with fiery grill as a symbol under his feet (*ibid.*, IV, p. 73, pl. XI); Rome, S. Maria in Trastevere, twelfth century, standing with book and cross (*ibid.*, p. 73, pl. XI); Monreale, cathedral, apse mosaic, twelfth century, figure with censer (*ibid.*, p. 91, pl. XII). Frescoes: S. Vincenzo al Volturno, crypt (826-843), martyrdom (Grüneisen, *op. cit.*, fig. 262, p. 319) (Bertaux, in Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, 1, p. 382); Rome, Palatine Hill, apse fresco, eleventh century, standing figure with cross (Émile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie Méridionale*, Paris, 1904, I, fig. 77); grotto of S. Lorenzo, near Fassano, Byzantine fresco, eleventh century, bust figure (*ibid.*, fig. 58, p. 144). Manuscripts: Rome, Vallicelliana Library, tenth century, seated with cross, receives book from the deacon Juvenianus (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 75, pl. XI); Tivoli, Regestum Tiburtinum (*ibid.*, p. 76, pl. XII); Rome, Vatican library, lat. 5419, fol. 40, twelfth-thirteenth century, shown standing with St. Cecelia and St. Margaret (*ibid.*, p. 75); Lucca, Govern. Cod. 1275, cited by Swarzenski (*Salzburger Malerei*, p. 87, No. 5); Cividale,

Museum, prayer book of St. Elizabeth, single figure holds the saint on the grill (Arthur Haseloff, *Die Thüringisch-Sächsische Malerschule*, Strassburg, 1897, p. XVII, No. 35). Sculpture: Genoa, cathedral, sculptured tympanum, martyrdom (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, pl. 254).

*Germany*: Three cycles appear in manuscripts of the Fulda school (E. H. Zimmermann, *Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei*, p. 48); Munich, Perikopenbuch von St. Erentrud, fol. 80, two figures work bellows, Decius enthroned behind, flanked by two guards (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LX, fig. 192); Regensburg, All Saints Chapel, fresco (*ibid.*, p. 87, n. 5); Warmund missal, Ivrea (*ibid.*, *loc. cit.*); Salzburg, antiphonary, martyrdom, Decius seated on left with crossed legs, guard behind him with a sword, one executioner works a bellows and two others hold the saint on the gridiron with pronged sticks (Karl Lind, *Ein Antiphonarium mit Bilderschmuck aus der Zeit des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts im Stifte St. Peter zu Salzburg befindlich*, Vienna, 1870, pl. XVII); Holkam Hall, Weingartner Psalter, cod. No. 37, fol. 26v, thirteenth century (Léon Dorez, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Lord Leicester à Holkam Hall, Norfolk*, Paris, 1908, pl. XXI); Stuttgart Passionale, twelfth century, martyrdom, two executioners hold the saint with pronged sticks, another works the bellows, Decius seated above in an initial T (Albert Boeckler, *Das Stuttgarter Passionale*, Augsburg, 1923, fig. 73); Basel, cathedral, stone relief,

## (7) THE SAINT LAWRENCE FRAGMENT IN THE BARCELONA MUSEUM

It would not be without interest at this point to discuss the mutilated fragment of an antependium in the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona (Fig. 49), which also shows scenes from the life of St. Lawrence. This fragment,<sup>84</sup> said to have been found in Vich,<sup>85</sup> is much later than the altar-frontal from S. Lorenzo de los Dos Munts, which we have discussed above. In its original state the antependium contained a central compartment with the enthroned Saviour and four or six lateral compartments with scenes from the acts and martyrdom of St. Lawrence.

All that remains of the *Majestas Domini* in the central panel is the part of the figure extending from below the breast to the ankles. The missing right hand was raised in benediction, and a Book of the Gospels, the white cover of which is inscribed with the letters alpha and omega, is held on the left knee. The yellow tunic is decorated with orange lines and the mantle is a violet red. The sides of the yellow throne are ornamented with narrow red bands enclosing red dots, the white bolster is embellished with a red foliate design. The dark green background is covered with white, eight-pointed stars. Usually the *Majestas Domini* is enthroned within an elliptical mandorla, with

twelfth century, martyrdom; Berlin, Schloss Museum, enameled reliquary casket, school of Westfalen, late twelfth century, martyrdom, one executioner works bellows and the other holds him down with a pronged stick; Cologne, Maurinus shrine by Fridericus, c. 1180, martyrdom, hand of God from above, Decius not shown (von Falke, *op. cit.*, I, pls. 44, 48, p. 41); Cologne, St. Gereon, Baptistery, standing figure in niche of east wall under arcade, shown with gridiron and palm (Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumental-malerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, pp. 548, 550, fig. 534, pl. 46).

France: Illuminated manuscripts: Paris, Arsenal Library, *tropaire* from Autun, No. 1169, fol. 15, tenth-eleventh century, two executioners carry the body of the saint, grill missing (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 161, pl. LII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 11700, fol. 64v., initial C, Homilies, twelfth century, martyrdom, Decius seated below, four executioners (*ibid.*, p. 161, pl. LII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 833, fol. 210, initial C, twelfth century, martyrdom, Decius enthroned above, three executioners (*ibid.*, pl. LIII); Amiens, Library, no. 108, fol. 213, twelfth century, martyrdom, Decius seated above with spectators, two executioners (*loc. cit.*); Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fr. 6447, thirteenth century, martyrdom, two executioners stand behind the grill (*ibid.*, pl. LII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 11650, thirteenth century, martyrdom, Decius and three executioners behind the grill, above the figure of Christ (*ibid.*, pl. LIII); Paris, Arsenal Library, breviary from Caen, no. 279, fol. 341, martyrdom, thirteenth century (*ibid.*, p. 161). For later examples of illuminated manuscripts see Rohault de Fleury (*ibid.*, pp. 161-162, pl. LIV). Stained glass: Bourges, cathedral, thirteenth century, acts and passion in four medallions (*ibid.*, pp. 133-155, pls. XXXIX-XL) (Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Bourges*,

Paris, 1841-44, pl. XIV); Poitiers, cathedral, early thirteenth century, one entire window dedicated to St. Lawrence containing twenty-one scenes (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-64); Auxerre, cathedral, standing with book and palm, inscr. S. LAVRENTIVS, above the martyrdom (1220-1234) (Bonneau, *Description des verrières de la cathédrale d'Auxerre*, 1885, p. 18); Laon, cathedral, thirteenth century (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 144); Chartres, cathedral. Sculpture: Dax, Notre-Dame, portal, thirteenth century, shown with grill (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 121); Lyon, cathedral, voussure of portal, left side, martyrdom (Lucien Bégule, *Monographie de la cathédrale de Lyon*, Lyon, 1880, p. 76); Chartres, cathedral, south portal, left bay, right pillar, stretched on grill (Et. Houbert, *Cathédrale de Chartres*, II, pls. 79, 80). Frescoes: Berzé-la-Ville, Saône-et-Loire, twelfth century (photograph, *Mon. Hist.*). Seals: Paris, Archiv. Nat., seal of Guillaume, doyen of Pont-sur-Seine, 1266, frontal figure with book, inscr. S. LAVRENCIVS (Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 173); Paris, Archiv. Nat., no. 7927; seal of Jean de Aler, martyrdom, c. 1247, inscr. SIGILLVM IOHANNIS DECANI S. LAVRENTII SUPER SEPRANI (*ibid.*, p. 146).

Norway: Bergen, Museum, antependium from Aardal, martyrdom (Andreas Lindblom, *La peinture gothique en Suède et Norvège*, Stockholm, 1916, pl. 26); Råda, Vörmland, wall painting (*ibid.*, p. 103).

84. Barcelona, Museum of Fine Arts; photograph by Arxiv "Mas," no. 34686 C; tempera on panel; the panel in its present state measures 0.28 x 1.30 m. The lower part of the fragment has been badly damaged, especially the scene on the left.

85. According to José Pijoan the panel was acquired about the year 1907 from a dealer at Vich, and it is highly probable that the antependium once hung in a parish church of the diocese of that city.



the four symbols of the evangelists in the spandrels. During the thirteenth century, however, the mandorla was often omitted and the Saviour was frequently shown within a rectangular compartment, a formula which has already been noted on the stucco antependium from Tressera, now in the Episcopal Museum at Lerida.<sup>86</sup> In the panel from Tressera the Saviour was enthroned under a trefoil arch, with feet resting on the ground, an arrangement which may have been followed on this panel in the Barcelona Museum.

Of the upper scenes in the side compartments nothing remains except bare feet and lower edges of red, yellow, and green tunics. The absence of sandals would indicate that St. Lawrence and his disciples were shown engaged in such acts of mercy as the healing of Cyriaca, the cure of the blind Crescencius, or the conversion of Lucillus. The two lowest scenes, fragments of which are still preserved, contain scenes of torture. In the lower right compartment (Fig. 50) Decius (DECIUS), clad in a green tunic and blue mantle and wearing a yellow crown studded with red jewels, is seated on the right. The dark brown bolster of his throne has been repainted. He is portrayed with long hair and beard, and his right hand is raised in a gesture of command. In the foreground the saint was undoubtedly shown stretched full length on a rack or other instrument of torture, but the figure now is missing. One of the guards, clad in a yellow tunic, and with dark green hair, leans forward over the body. Another guard holds aloft a white circular object resembling a sieve and above his head is written in white uncial letters the word SERUS. In the upper left corner the head and shoulders of an angel (GABRIEL) appear from dark green clouds. The angel has a green tunic, yellow halo, and small white wings, and he stretches forth both hands toward the saint below. The background is a dark violet red.

The martyrdom on the grill is shown in the lower left compartment (Fig. 51). Here the enthroned Decius (DECIUS) is depicted as in the preceding scene, with jeweled crown, dark brown hair, beard, and green mantle. Much of the lower part of the figure has been lost, but enough remains to show that the right hand of the tyrant was raised in a gesture of speech and that he was seated on a throne with white bolster, similar to that in the central compartment. The saint (LAURENCIUS), bound hand and foot, lies naked on a green grill. He is beardless and is without a nimbus. Behind the grill stand four guards (MAUTES), who prod the body of the martyr with forked irons. All wear loose-fitting orange-yellow tunics with long sleeves, and one of them is bearded. The lower part of the scene is missing, but two additional guards were undoubtedly shown in the foreground stirring the fire or adding fuel to the flames as in the St. Lawrence panel at Vich (Fig. 29). The background is violet red.

The majority of the thirteenth century altar-frontals are surrounded on all four sides by a narrow frame, which is now completely missing in this fragment. The narrow

86. *Art Studies*, II, fig. 22.

stucco bands dividing the lateral and central compartments are white, and all traces of the former gilding have been lost. The ornamental pattern, consisting of roundels alternating with parallel lines, is a common Romanesque *motif*. It occurs in sculpture on the mandorla of the tympanum of the church at Carennac (LOT) (Fig. 12) and is also found in late twelfth century stained glass at the cathedral of Le Mans.

The composition, the facial types, and the palaeography of the inscriptions would date this work in the first half of the thirteenth century. The head of Decius, shown in the lateral compartments, is almost identical with the large heads found on a thirteenth century antependium in the Episcopal Museum of Vich.<sup>87</sup> The resemblance is so close, especially in such details as the crown, hair, moustache, and beard that it is highly probable that the two panels were executed by the same artist.

87. Vich Museum, no. 7; Catalogue, p. 71 f.



# ART AND ECONOMICS

BY H. H. POWERS

A CONSIDERATION of relationships such as that suggested by the above title, is unusual, yet I think neither irrelevant nor without interest. That there is a vital relation of dependence is attested by the experience of every artist and of every people. The relation is not always a congenial one but its inexorableness is recognized by all, however grudgingly. Art costs money, in many of its forms a great deal of money, and however imperiously the artist may spurn pecuniary considerations he must live by his craft and only an affluent society can meet his very considerable demands.

This, therefore, is our first proposition. Wealth is a condition of art. No society develops art until it gets rich. The proposition is subject to qualifications and even to seeming exceptions, but its general validity is too obvious to require argument. The rule applies unequally to the different arts. Some cost more than others. Literature is in a sense an inexpensive art. Iceland, a country which could never by any possibility become rich, has produced a rather noteworthy literature. But it has produced no school of sculpture, no significant architecture. It could not afford them. Even the inexpensive arts seldom flourish in impecunious communities. Such communities can furnish paper and ink and they often have the inspiration of nature in its intensest form. But the charms of nature and "the short and simple annals of the poor" have chiefly inspired the poets of an affluent and city-dwelling society. Directly or indirectly, therefore, even the inexpensive arts must own their dependence upon wealth.

One is tempted to moralize a little at this point upon the ungracious attitude so often manifested by art toward wealth and the impulses and activities to which it owes its existence. The accusation of vulgar materialism so incontinently hurled against our civilization and against those who are the chief authors of its wealth and power is a species of shallow rant which is familiar to every prosperous and creative age. It is at least as old as Plato, who excoriated the society that built the Parthenon and lavished its gold upon the Phidian goddess, in terms that suggest the tirade of our day upon the almighty dollar. Yet Plato was a wealthy man, who owed it to these same worshippers of the drachma that he was able to devote himself to the genial pursuit of the good, the beautiful, and the true. In his denunciation of Athenian commercialism he was fond of holding up to honor the frugal simplicity of Sparta as the sated in our day divert themselves with the laudation of the simple life. Yet Sparta produced no Plato, no Phidias, no Sophocles, no Pericles. She built no Parthenon and produced none of the things that Plato thought worth while. The supercilious and querulous criticisms of our Platos are not a whit more reasonable. No age has ever been less materialistic than our own or more intent upon transmuting its wealth into spiritual values.

But enough of moralizing. We turn now to a second principle, the converse and complement of the first. If there cannot be art without wealth there cannot long be wealth without art. This proposition is not quite so obvious as the first and is perhaps subject to greater qualification and more seeming exceptions. It is none the less quite as true as the other. Incidentally, too, it is perhaps more in need of emphasis, for the failure to perceive that wealth under normal conditions inevitably brings forth art is responsible for much of the pessimism and the grouch of the craft.

It goes without saying that this transmutation of wealth into art does not always take place in the experience of an individual. There are wealthy people who do not care for art and care only for amassing wealth, perhaps under the most forbidding and inartistic conditions. Do not chide them. By all means let them get interested in these uninviting but necessary things if they can. It is a part of nature's beneficent division of labor. We should be grateful that we can bathe without running a soap factory of our own. It is therefore entirely in the order of nature that an affluent society should have its specialized individuals whose enthusiasm is entirely for stoking the furnaces of industry careless of the great goal of art. It may even be that a whole generation will devote itself to these homely but basic tasks, laying all unconsciously the foundations for the structure that others will dream and build. To those of wider vision such facts will not obscure the true relation.

A third principle is involved in the foregoing. Wealth begets art only after the lapse of a considerable time. The process cannot be greatly hurried. The parvenu can of course buy art objects and employ craftsmen to produce more, but it is questionable whether the cause of art is furthered in this way. It may even be hindered. There is always danger of this when a parvenu society develops alongside an older society of conspicuous achievement and mature development but of spent energy. Progress under such an influence often seems rapid and brilliant, but it is specious and hollow. Witness the elegant but meaningless art of Hadrian inspired by the art of Greece. Witness, again, our American patronage of classical music. The audiences that throng to hear the ninth symphony mean nothing as regards our musical development. The significant thing in this connection is the jazz that we all rail at but which truly expresses our development in this tom-tom and pow-wow stage. It will take time to make us musicians, but we need not worry. There is plenty of time left.

The slow development of art under the stimulus of wealth, however, sometimes puts us out of our reckonings. It takes so long for art of genuine native growth to mature that before it is ripe the wealth that caused it is often gone. Historic examples will occur to all. At the height of her power and wealth Venice had an art crude and negligible as compared with the art of Florence. The colors that glow from the canvas of Titian are sunset hues, and the dark shadows of Tintoret reflect the deepening Venetian night. When Venice had lost her empire and had sent out her last ship and her last man and spent her last ducat in a vain attempt to stay the advance of the Turk, her im-



poverished citizens could still employ a Tiepolo to paint his inimitable ceilings in palace and church. The story of Athens and of Spain is much the same. Both were in full decline economically when their art reached its zenith. Egypt illustrates the same principle in each of its great historic cycles. Not universally but repeatedly in human history art has been a phenomenon of decadence.

It would be strange if the love of the paradoxical did not prompt to sensational conclusions from these facts. To them is due the theory that art is a concomitant of decay, a disease, so to speak, a theory which has been seriously advanced by a few and which lurks in the background of many minds. It is not without a modicum of warrant. The love of art becomes a passion and passions tend to extravagance. The Greek memorials to the dead, perhaps the most precious relics of Greek art a grudging fate has bequeathed to us, at the time of their greatest vogue brought families into sore distress, so much so that when Demetrius in 299 B.C. acquired control of Athens he felt constrained to limit by edict the amount that might be spent on the burial of the dead. Extravagance, no doubt, can often be laid to the charge of art, but equally to religion, to learning, to industry, to everything that can create a master passion in men.

The archaeologist has abundant opportunity to verify these simple principles. Thus, the building of the pyramids represents the culmination of an economic and political development perhaps the longest and the least interrupted that Egypt ever knew. If it be true, as Herodotus and modern engineers assert, that the building of the pyramid of Khufu required the labor of a hundred thousand men for twenty years, what must have been the political and economic organization of the little land and the grip of the powerful monarch that made such an undertaking possible! Through what agencies was this labor force recruited and the wastage supplied? What of the commissariat, the management of the distant quarries of Assouan, of river transport? The venality, graft, and evasion so characteristic of the modern orient must have been largely excluded, a fact corroborated by other evidence. Under the stern rule of Khufu Egypt anticipated by five thousand years the marvelous results of British rule in our own day. Yet the marvel was of short duration. Decline began in Khufu's lifetime. It was marked under his successor and progressive throughout the remainder of the Fourth Dynasty. The Fifth begins with a transfer of power from king to nobles and an obviously weakened state. In the Sixth Dynasty this goes farther, the government is weaker, the country poorer, and the golden age comes to an end.

Art follows the same path but always a dynasty behind. The exquisite art of Sak-kara is not of the Fourth Dynasty but of the feebler Fifth, while the famous Mycerinus statues which are the pride of the Boston and Cairo museums date from the tottering and decadent Sixth. The story is repeated in the later empire. The amazing art discovered in the tomb of Tut-ank-amen dates from a period of fallen fortunes, of political and economic decay. Egypt was but the shadow of what she had been a century before, yet it is probable that neither the conquering Thutmes nor Amenophis the Magnificent,

who held the East in fief, were clothed with the splendor which accompanied this emaciated youth to his tomb.

So far we have considered the rather obvious dependence of art upon wealth and its tendency to outlive the conditions that create it. It remains for us to note briefly the reaction of art upon economics and upon human activity in general. We shall pass the somewhat obvious fact that art objects are themselves economic products, which employ labor and promote trade. More interesting are some of art's secondary reactions upon economic activity. A case in point may prove instructive.

In a certain rather rustic community an industrial plant was established employing many women and girls. They welcomed the industry but it proved to be impossible to persuade them to steady labor. They could earn in three or four days a week money enough to buy the very simple finery there in vogue and preferred to spend half their time in wearing it. Persuasion proving futile, the firm imported a milliner and costumier whose creations were a revelation to the simple community. The effect was magical. The prospect of sporting this finery on one day of the week outweighed the chance of the old for four, and the plant now ran at capacity six days in the week.

That is the story of art in a nutshell. Art in the concrete may not be indispensable. Its physical utility is always slight and sometimes nil. But art as a stimulus to exertion, as a lure to ambition is the deepest necessity of our being. Toil without reward and without desire imbrutes us. But effort directed toward a desired end is our salvation. It is commonly assumed that the primal wants are the most coercive. On the contrary, with no other desires than food and warmth men will starve and freeze rather than exert themselves. Without the desire for gewgaws the savage sinks into hopeless torpor. It is gewgaws, big and little, that lift us above the brute. It is they that develop our faculties, stimulate our energy, and school us in disciplined activity.

With incredible fatuousness our would-be benefactors are in arms against this great civilizing necessity. A great Christian denomination, one perhaps in the vanguard of religious intelligence, has recently discussed in its national convention and almost adopted a resolution putting itself on record as favoring a uniform limitation of labor to eight hours per day (so far perhaps good) with such farther continuous reduction as is compatible with the production of necessities. What necessities: the necessities of today or of our ancestors or of our posterity? It is just as easy to draw the line of necessity as it is to locate the foot of the rainbow. But once establish this principle that the thing to do is to get as little work and as much picnic as possible and you are headed straight back toward savagery. With the savage it is all picnic. The distinction of civilization is organized and disciplined activity for the production of unnecessary things, of art. God grant we may never have less than an eight-hour day. Not all worth-while activity is confined to the industrial working day, I know, but the best of it is. Moreover, it is the working day that makes the rest possible, that makes the rest worth while. The thing to be redeemed is not these eight hours but the other



sixteen. The great problem just now is the redemption of our leisure. To further increase its amount under present conditions of slovenly and demoralizing utilization would imperil our civilization and head us toward the jungle.

No, no, give us work; not drudgery, not overstrain, but work, absorbing, enticing. Give us unnecessary but fascinating things to make; give us art. It is by making these unnecessary things and habituating ourselves to them until they become necessary things, that we extend the frontier of civilization. The lure of art is the mainspring of industry, the motive force of civilization. It is not so much the things with which it enriches us as the activity that it furnishes to our creative faculties, an activity which is the sole antidote for sloth and demoralization.

It is by art that civilizations stand or fall. I am not talking about the judgment of posterity. Small matter what the archaeologists who some day dig up our buried cities think of our civilization. It is not a question of future judgment but of present life or death. The people that can have art and does not, rots, and another takes its birthright. It gives us Americans food for reflection. Like the peoples whose monuments we now explore we have subdued nature and compelled her to yield the necessities of existence on ever easier terms. What are we doing with the time and energy thus released? Idleness is disaster. The multiplication of primitive indulgences is cloying and destructive. Further conquest of nature is losing its zest.

The need is for more of these inspiring and stimulating "unnecessary" things to fill the time and absorb the energy made available by our progress. It will always be so. When are we going to stop? When have enough? Never. It is an idle question. This surcease from toil, this relaxation of endeavor which is the dream of our Lotus Eaters is the pot of gold beneath the rainbow. To find it would be our undoing, an undoing all too possible. Many a people has proved its capacity to endure hardship and privation. None has yet demonstrated its ability to endure civilization. Peoples by strenuous endeavor attain to high achievement and then slow up and rest on their oars. They are called back to the simple life, bidden to get the good of what they have done—as though there were any good like the doing. Vigilance is relaxed, and wholesome endeavor is no longer keyed up to concert pitch. Wealth is squandered in gross indulgences and vulgar banalities with their deadening sequel of satiety and disorder. Work, robbed of its legitimate incentive, becomes drudgery and is shunned in the interest of demoralizing ease. This is the familiar path along which decadent societies pass to their dissolution.

The temptation is irresistible to indulge in a momentary digression upon our own country and its prospects. We are rich, "beastly rich," someone has said. Our creative energy is at its height. What wares are on our counter for our rich to buy? What lure does art hold out to our ambition? More exactly, are we developing an art sufficient to inspire our people and maintain their creative powers? I believe we are. Lamentations and Cassandra prophecies are frequent, but ill considered and based for the most part

on obvious misunderstanding. Art is an infinitely elusive thing. We have no sooner got used to it in one form than it appears in another which is strange and misleading. As Elbert Hubbard has said, "Art is not a thing; art is a spirit in things." From the standpoint of the producer, which in the last analysis is the standpoint of the race, art is the thing that is done for the love of the doing, a thing done that did not have to be done. But the thing done may be anything whatever. And quite inevitably the things into which enters the spirit that makes them art will be things characteristic of the age. True art is never archaistic. It never takes its forms, its motives, or even its media from the past. Yet the artist, the art lover, and above all the archaeologist are always looking for art in traditional or obsolete forms. By our proficiency in these forms we are judged and not unnaturally are found wanting.

It would be contrary to all nature that we should reveal our aesthetic feeling in any such form as did the fifth century Greek or the fifteenth century Florentine. Our whole life is different. Hand artisanship was the rule in their day, with the individual as the economic unit. Art was naturally an individual product, a statue, a Madonna, or the like. Today everything is teamwork. Vast organizations covering whole states or continents more and more monopolize our great activities. The individual is nowhere; his work is nowhere, lost, merged, absorbed in the vast whole.

It is useless to expect such an age to express itself in statues and Madonnas. Frankly, I do not look for any great development along this line. It is in the total inadequacy of these things to house the spirit of our age that we are to find the explanation of the incredible lunacy to be observed in modern painting and sculpture. Equally futile is the call back to hand artisanship as the sole hope of art. The inevitable result of this false assumption is an artificial and perverted craftsmanship animated less by the spirit of art than by the spirit of protest. Things are made unsymmetrical and lopsided so we can see across the street that they repudiate the regularity of the machine. Even worse is the antiquarian temper, which assumes that art is a function of antiquity and that beautiful is essentially synonymous with original, authentic, genuine, and antique. How that spirit in things must laugh at these puny endeavors to confine within these childish limits the far ranging soul of our time!

Unless the elusive spirit in things which we are seeking violates all precedent it must take up its abode in the characteristic creations of our day. And there it is in point of fact. It is in the railroad, upon whose gleaming tracks I gaze while the train rushes along their curving silver lines like a planet hurled from the hand of a god. It is in the steamship, that bands the sea with its foaming wake, and the mill, whose iron fingers put to shame the cunning of men's hands. You say these things are utilitarian? Utilitarian plus, and everything is in the plus, in last analysis, the utility itself. You say the creators of these things wrought for money? What did Praxiteles work for? Not less for money than they. The words of James B. Hill, "I have made my mark across this planet that no man shall ever efface," were not the words of a hireling. These men



wrought for the love of the doing as truly as did Phidias or Michelangelo, and that spirit which is the soul of things has found in their work an abiding place. I gaze upon their work with feelings akin to those inspired by the ceiling of Michelangelo. May the lure that drew them on abide with us for the saving of the nation.

# THE GOLDEN BOOK OF PFÄVERS

BY ERNEST T. DEWALD

SINCE the preparation of my introductory article on the school of Einsiedeln,<sup>1</sup> I have had occasion to visit the Stiftsarchiv at St. Gall and to examine the so-called Liber Aureus Favariensis.<sup>2</sup> This manuscript had been known to me only through Swarzenski's attribution of it to the school of Reichenau.<sup>3</sup> The examination showed, however, that it is an important member of the group belonging to the scriptorium of Einsiedeln, in the second half of the eleventh century.

As its name indicates, the manuscript came to St. Gall from the abbey of Pfävers, near Ragatz, Switzerland. It contains an arrangement of readings for certain feast days of the year, grouped according to the evangelists from whose Gospels the readings are taken. Interspersed on empty pages throughout the manuscript are later Gothic entries, which record events in the history of Pfävers.<sup>4</sup> From the arrangement of the folios and particularly of the evangelists, the reverse of the usual arrangement, it would appear that the manuscript is not in its original condition.

The illuminations consist of portraits of the four evangelists and a series of initials at the heads of the readings of particular feast days. They are as follows: verso of fly-leaf, Evangelist John (Fig. 1); folio 1 r, initial I; folio 1 v, initial D (Fig. 11); folio 2, Gothic entries; folio 3 r, initial E; folio 3 v, initial D for the vigil of Pentecost; folio 4, initial D for Pentecost; folio 5 r, initial D for the feast of the apostles; folios 5 v—8 r, Gothic entries; folio 8 v, Evangelist Luke (Fig. 2); folio 9, two large initial P's (Fig. 9); folio 10 r, initial M for the Annunciation; folio 10 v, initial E for feria II Easter; folio 12 r, initial S for feria III Easter; folio 12 v, initial F for the vigil of St. John the Baptist; folio 13, initial E for the feast day of St. John the Baptist; folio 14 r, initial I for the Assumption; folio 14 v, initial I for the Assumption; folio 15 r, initial D for *ad uno Martire*; folios 15 v—16 r, Gothic entries; folio 16 v, Evangelist Mark (Fig. 3); folio 17 r, initial M; folio 17 v, initial R for the Ascension (Fig. 7); folios 18—20 r, Gothic entries; folio 20 v, Evangelist Matthew (Fig. 4); folio 21 r, initial L for the beginning of Matthew; folio 21 v, initial C; folio 22 r, initial D for the feast day of St. Stephen; folio 22 v, initial A for the Innocents; folio 23, initial E for the Epiphany; folio 24 r, initial U for the vigil of Easter; folio 24 v, initial D for the feast day of St. Benedict and initial V for the feast day of St. Peter; folio 25, initial A for the feast day of St. Michael; folio 26 r, initial I for the feast day of St. Andrew and initial V

1. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3.

2. The Liber Aureus is so called from its gold covers, and not, as one might suspect, from any gold writing in the text. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Joseph Müller, Stiftsarchivar at St. Gall, for privileges extended to me while studying the manuscript and for information sent me.

3. Swarzenski, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXVI, p. 489, n.

4. These entries have been published in part in the *Mon. Germ. SS.*, XII, 410 ff., and have also been utilized in von Arx's *Geschichte des Kantons St. Gallen*.



for *de sanctis*; folio 26 v, initial D for *de virginibus*; folios 27–52, Gothic entries (among these: folios 29–32, list of Pfävers abbots; folio 52 v, list of monasteries with which Pfävers had confraternities; these were: Disentis, Schennis, St. Gall, St. Fridolin in Glarus, Einsiedeln, Zürich, Reichenau, St. Leodegar at Lucerne). As for the colors, all the initials with the sole exception of the E on folio 10 v are done in gold edged with red and with red filling within the split shafts. The backgrounds within the initials are light blue and light green. The E on folio 10 v is outlined with red and filled with the usual blue and green. The evangelist pages have very little variety. The borders are gold with green and purple leaf designs. The backgrounds are all mottled purple. The skies are streaked with blues, greens, and pinks, the architecture is light oak, green, and mat indigo, and the garments of the evangelists, purple, orange, and cream.

In establishing the connection of this manuscript with the school of Einsiedeln, the following comparisons will, I think, prove convincing. The mottled purple backgrounds on the evangelist pages are very characteristic of the ornate pages of manuscripts 113 and 114 at Einsiedeln (Fig. 10).<sup>5</sup> The architectural settings above the evangelists, with the brick or stone filled spandrels are identical with the setting found in manuscript 151 at Einsiedeln (Fig. 6). Even the same small turret on that page corresponds to the central one in the Matthew page at St. Gall (Fig. 4). Note also the same curious thin slabs with scroll ends used as abaci, necking blocks, or above the bases, which appear in all the evangelist pages of the Pfävers manuscript and on the page cited from manuscript 151 at Einsiedeln (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6).

The border about the Mark page (Fig. 3) is the same as that about the "*Vere Dignum*" page in manuscript 114 at Einsiedeln<sup>6</sup> or that about the initial P in Einsiedeln 113 (Fig. 10). The border of the Luke page (Fig. 2) is the same as that about the Crucifixion page in Einsiedeln 114 (Fig. 5) or that about the "*Vere Dignum*" page of manuscript 113 at Einsiedeln.<sup>7</sup> These borders are simply more stylized or linearized versions of the borders in the Psalter of Egbert or in the Poussay Gospels.<sup>8</sup> They are derived ultimately from the borders of the St.-Denis school, such as are found in the Bible of St. Paul's in Rome.<sup>9</sup> The stylized plants and flowers which appear in the foreground of the evangelist pages are also found on the Crucifixion page in Einsiedeln 113<sup>10</sup> and are similarly derived from St.-Denis manuscripts.

A comparison of the facial types is likewise striking. The broad heads with the high-set ears are characteristic of the Einsiedeln manuscripts (e. g., Figs. 5 and 6). And the sharp noses and dot eyes of the evangelists in the Pfävers manuscript are paralleled in the Christ in Einsiedeln 114 (Fig. 5) and particularly in the faces on the presentation page of Einsiedeln 151 (Fig. 6). One could wish no closer comparison than is found

5. See also *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, figs. 9 and 10.

6. *Ibid.*, fig. 11.

7. *Ibid.*, fig. 9.

8. Sauerland and Haseloff, *Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier*, pls. 21, 32, 55.

9. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, pl. CXXVIIa.

10. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, fig. 10.



FIG. 1—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, verso of Flyleaf  
Evangelist John

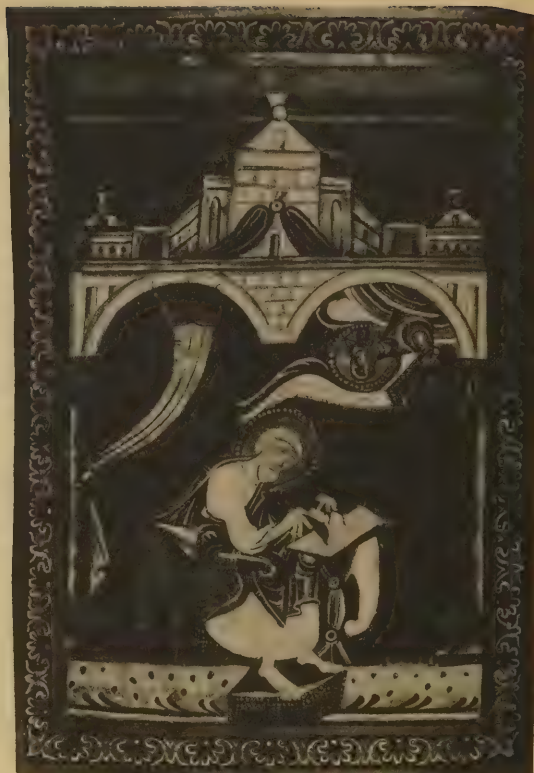


FIG. 2—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 8 v.  
Evangelist Luke



FIG. 3—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 16 v.  
Evangelist Mark



FIG. 4—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: *Liber Aureus* from Pfävers, Fol. 20 v.  
Evangelist Matthew





FIG. 5—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 114, Missal, Page 205. Crucifixion



FIG. 6—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 151 Gregorii Moralia in Job (II), Fol. 1 v. Presentation

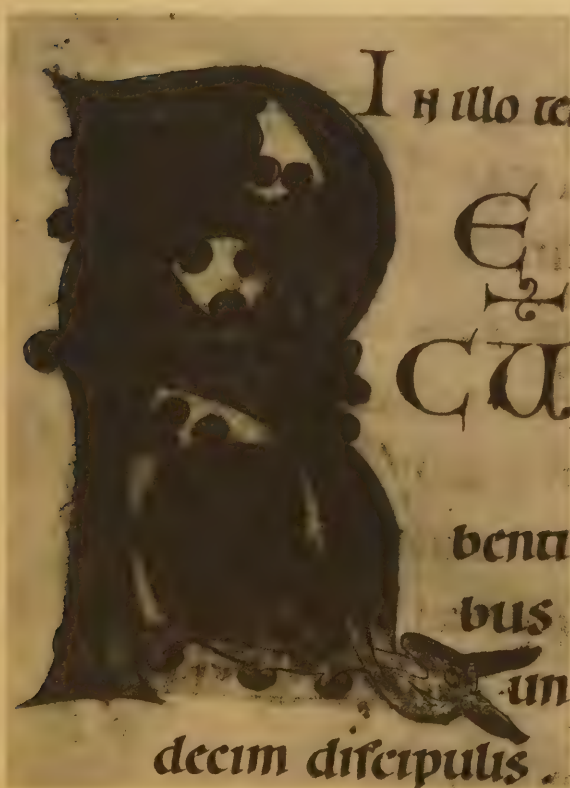


FIG. 7—St. Gall, Stiftsarchiv: Liber Aureus from Pfävers, Fol. 17 v. Initial R for the Ascension

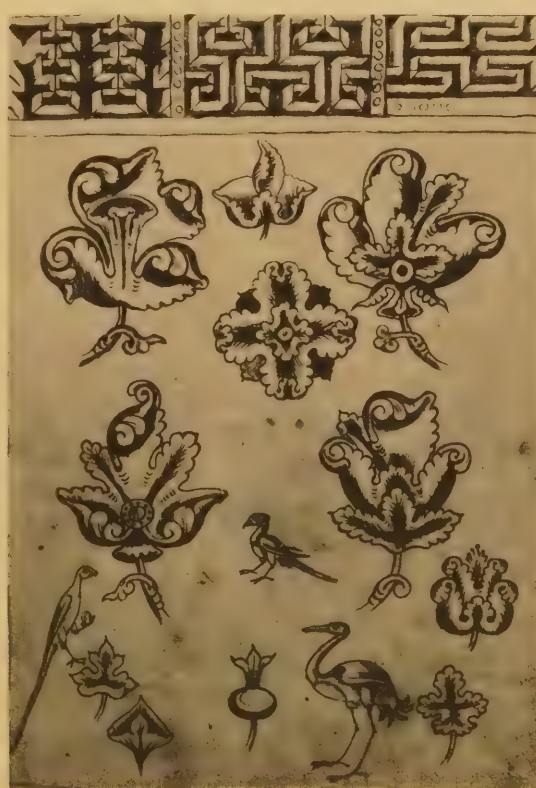
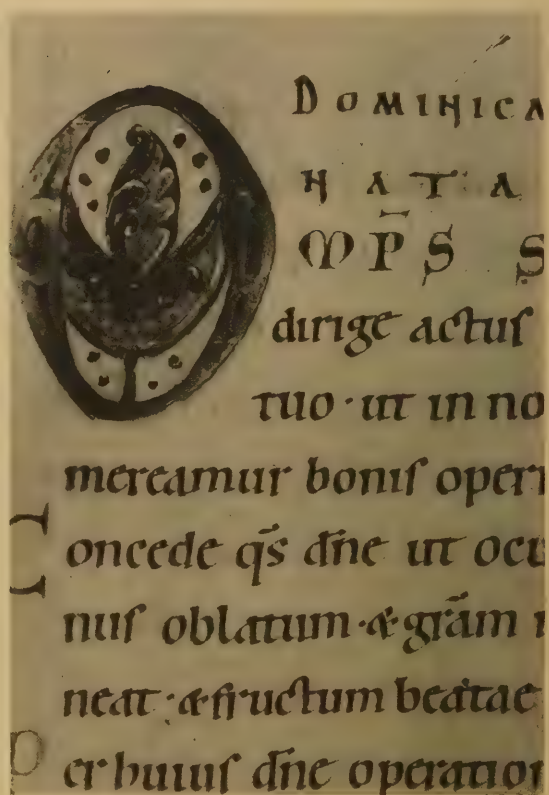
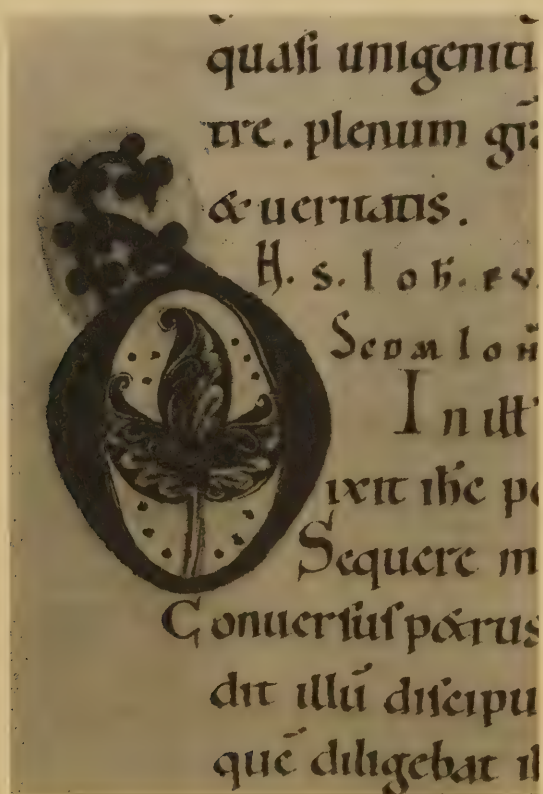


FIG. 8—Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek: MS. 112, Liber Officialis, Page 3 Byzantine Motives





between the face of the Virgin or of the monk approaching her and the face of the angel symbol of Matthew in the Pfävers manuscript (Fig. 4).

The initials also of the Pfävers example are in the same style as those in the Einsiedeln manuscripts. Compare the P of the Liber Aureus (Fig. 9) with that in Einsiedeln 113 (Fig. 10), or the R with the animal head termination (Fig. 7) with a similar R in Einsiedeln 114.<sup>11</sup> Equally interesting is the comparison of the D filled with a large florid leaf (Fig. 11) with an O similarly filled in Einsiedeln 113 (Fig. 12). Both the animal termination and the leaf filler are to be found in manuscripts of the Reichenau school.<sup>12</sup> But the former motive is much more peculiar to the St. Gall manuscripts,<sup>13</sup> while the latter seems derived from Byzantine ivories, metal work, and manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> As an interesting side light on the use of this leaf motive, and particularly its use at Einsiedeln, I am reproducing a page from Einsiedeln 112 (Fig. 8), which is one of several pages inserted at the beginning of this manuscript on which a scribe copied various Byzantine motives.

It will also be noticed that the thrones on which the evangelists are seated in the Pfävers manuscript are the jeweled thrones which we found to be so characteristic of the earlier Einsiedeln group.<sup>15</sup> And their survival here serves as another link to connect this earlier group with the later group.

How this manuscript got from Einsiedeln to Pfävers becomes evident in the light of the following. From the earliest times Einsiedeln and Pfävers had close relations.<sup>16</sup> Einsiedeln appears on the list of monasteries with which Pfävers had confraternities (see above). And the reformed rule from Einsiedeln was evidently used at Pfävers too, for at the time of Abbot Wirunt of Einsiedeln (996–1026) three monks of Einsiedeln, Gebene, Hartmann, and Eberhard became abbots of Pfävers. Hartmann later became the bishop of Chur and of Constance. Later, in 1330, another Einsiedeln monk, Hermann of Arbon, became the abbot of Pfävers. Further indications of the closeness of these two monasteries appear in a bull of Pope Martin IV, dated 1282, wherein he requests Pfävers to protect Einsiedeln from robbers and assaults, and in a request from the Council of Basel in 1437 that Einsiedeln and Chur this time protect Pfävers.<sup>17</sup> Such instances as these of the close connections between Pfävers and Einsiedeln readily account for the transference of manuscripts from one monastery to the other, as happened so frequently in the early Middle Ages. And with the suppression of Pfävers in the last century its manuscripts were transferred to the archive at St. Gall.

11. *Ibid.*, fig. 13.

12. Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Handschriften der königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München*, I, 34; V, 22, 50 a, b, d, 60 a; VI, 21, 22. These motives are also frequent in certain unpublished Einsiedeln manuscripts, such as cod. 8, fol. 3; cod. 34, fol. 23; cod. 122, fol. 10.

13. Landsberger, *Der Folchard Psalter*, pl. I, figs. 3 a, b; 4; 17 c; 20.

14. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, figs. 339, 451. As appearing on western ivories, Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen . . .*, II, no. 22 and pls. XIX, XX.

15. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 3, pp. 85, 87.

16. Ringholz, *Geschichte des fürstlichen Benedictinerstiftes U. L. F. zu Einsiedeln*, p. 49.

17. References to the sources for this information are to be found in Ringholz, *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 57, 117, 190–1, 370.

## REVIEWS

STUDIER I GÖTEBORGS BYGGNADSHISTORIA FÖRE 1814 (STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF BUILDING IN GOTHENBURG BEFORE 1814). By *Arvid Baeckström*. 292 pp.; 111 illustrations. *Stockholm*, 1923.

THIS book, which belongs to a series of publications of the Nordiska Museum at Stockholm, deals with an interesting period in the development of Swedish cities. For nearly a century all the architectural and engineering work of Gothenburg was in the hands of three members of the Carlberg family. The eldest of these, Johan Eberhard Carlberg, in the beginning of his career a fortification officer, was appointed a city engineer in 1717. He was succeeded by his brother, Bergt Wilhelm Carlberg, who held the office from 1727 to 1775 and passed it on, finally, to his son, Carl Wilhelm Carlberg (1775-1814).

The author gives first an account of the history of building in Gothenburg before 1717 and explains the dominance of the Dutch element during the time of King Gustav II Adolf.

J. E. Carlberg's work was largely confined to engineering constructions. His somewhat heavy style shows the classicism which reached Sweden via Germany and Holland. His brother, B. W. Carlberg, who likewise began as a fortification officer, had, in his new capacity, first to finish the reconstruction of the Gothenburg cathedral, which was started under J. E. Comparing the plans and drawings of the two we find that B. W. followed a still more rigid and puritanic style than his brother. At first the former built with Dutch baroque forms, but he soon changed to forms closely related to French-Italian classicism, which was also popular in Stockholm. The author emphasizes the fact that the rococo could not influence Carlberg or Gothenburg: the Nordic spirit and habits were entirely unprepared for rococo forms.

Like his father, C. W. Carlberg was an ardent follower of neoclassicism. His development was strongly influenced by a trip to other European countries. There he became better acquainted with the sources of classicism and the sources of other contemporary styles. He made drawings of Palladio's architecture, of buildings in classical baroque style, and of characteristic new buildings. He was especially interested in the new Louis XVI style, with its clear, well balanced forms. The direct result of his studies abroad was the summer residence at Gunnebo, an interesting example of Swedish interpretation of the style of Louis XVI. The fire of 1802 necessitated his working at the restoration of Gothenburg cathedral, as his father had done before him.

These three architects devoted their talents so exclusively to Gothenburg that all that was built there in the eighteenth century—dwellings and public buildings, and all the changes in the laws for contractors and builders, and all the projects of city extension, were of their making.



Even though written in Swedish, this book, with its 111 excellent illustrations, will be useful to many architects interested in city building.

M. S. DIMAND

DEN BALTISKA NORDENS KYRKOR (THE CHURCHES OF THE BALTIC NORTH). By *Johnny Roosval*. 198 pp.; 158 illustrations. Uppsala, 1923.

THIS small handbook is Roosval's new contribution to a history of mediaeval architecture of the North which comprises Sweden, Denmark, Northern Germany, the former Baltic provinces of Russia, Letland and Estland, and Finland. According to Roosval, Sweden was, before the time of Gustav Vasa, a part of an "art union" which included countries outside the political boundaries of today.

An interesting feature of the book is the new periods into which the development of the ecclesiastical architecture of the Baltic North is divided. Every art historian knows that the conventional chronological and geographical divisions of art development found in our handbooks on the history of art are often insufficient for explaining the origins and development of various styles. Every serious scholar knows today, thanks to Strzygowski and his school, that political geography and art geography are very different. That many phenomena of style were and still are wrongly interpreted is due to this old method. Roosval's suggested periods in the development of the churches, though not yet entirely defined, are worth the consideration of art scholars. (See also Roosval's article, *Periodeneinteilung in der Kunstgeschichte*, in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens—Strzygowski Festschrift*.)

The first chapter is devoted to the early Christian period of Scandinavian architecture, of the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh. The wooden churches of this period are richly ornamented by interlaced animal bodies familiar to us from the splendid monuments found in Norway including the Oseberg ship, belonging to the ninth century.

The second period, beginning about 1020 to 1030, is characterized by stone churches of various types: A, a pillar basilica with three naves; B, with one nave and tower; C, with one nave and apse, without tower; D, with one nave, straight ending choir, and without tower; E, in cross form, with central tower, as represented by the St. Olof church in Sigtuna, which Roosval compares with several Armenian churches.

The third period is called the Sigtuna period (from about 1060–80 until 1130–50) and is represented by churches such as St. Per at Sigtuna (now a ruin), Linköping, Skara, and old Uppsala. The characteristic form of this period is a cross basilica with a tower over a square, and with a double, or single tower on the west side, and apses on the east side of the choir and the narthex arms.

The Lunda period's (from about 1130–50 until 1160–80) most splendid and best known church of Romanesque style is the great cathedral at Lund, in the form of a Latin cross. The names of several artists of this period are known, preserved in in-

scriptions and documents. Beside the traditional Scandinavian ornamentation we find at this time evident signs of Italian influence.

The fifth period is called the Cistercian period (from about 1160-80 until 1220-30) and is that of Denmark's political expansion. A great influence on the development of the architecture was exercised by the Cistercians who came from Burgundy and brought with them their cloister architecture, characterized by a simplicity of forms. Famous cloister churches of the Cistercian period are those at Alvastra (reminiscent of Fontenay), at Nydala, and Vidtsköl. Two Danish cathedrals, at Aarhus and Roskilde, built during this period, with evident French influence, show the first use of brick as building material.

The so-called transition period begins about 1220-30 and ends about 1250-80. German influence now becomes stronger. In the year 1143 was founded the famous city of Lübeck, which later plays such a great rôle in the development of Scandinavian art. The German school expanded to Gotland also, where in Visby artists from Saxony, Westphalia, and the Rheinland rebuilt the church of St. Maria.

The next three chapters deal with the early northern Gothic in the stone region, the northern brick region, and the southern brick region. The early Gothic churches of the Baltic North are very numerous. To the first group, in the stone region, belong the churches of the Swedish provinces of Västergötland, Nerke, Östergötland, Gotland, and Estland; to the second group, in the northern brick region, belong the churches of Mälardale and Finland, to the southern brick region, the churches of southern Scandinavia and northern Germany. The most important church of the second group is the cathedral at Uppsala, built mostly by French architects in the style of the French cathedrals. About 1280-1310 was built at Stockholm the Franciscan church, the so-called Riddarholmchurch, which shows the influence of the German Gothic. In Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Skåne in southern Sweden, we find the richest cathedral type of the southern brick region.

The next chapter is devoted to the so-called Contra-Gothic, from about 1310-30 until 1360-70. The name Contra-Gothic is not quite rightly chosen, for in spite of the Swedish national influences the basic characteristic of this period is still Gothic. In the French Gothic church the main entrance was on the west, while in this Contra-Gothic type the west-east orientation is changed to south-north.

The following period is called that of Queen Margareta (from about 1370-80 until 1410-30). Old churches are now modernized or new ones built. St. Nicolai at Wismar, St. Marien at Stargard, St. Marien at Stralsund, and St. Nicolai at Greifswald are now furnished on the choir side with a row of chapels. This period is characterized, according to Roosval, by a renaissance of the original ideals of Gothic art.

The last periods are called: Englebrektime (from about 1410-30 until 1450-70), Sture-Gothic and Ultra-Gothic (from about 1500-10 until 1530-40). The first of these periods is characterized by the building of church towers, due to the turbulent times



in Sweden. In the time of Sten Sture, liberator of the Swedish nation, many new churches were built which show Dutch influence. A characteristic church of this period is St. Yürgen at Wismar. The chapter on Ultra-Gothic is more an account of the interior decoration of churches.

From this very short résumé of Roosval's book one can see what extensive material it comprises. Though written for the use of the general Scandinavian public, to outsiders it will be a convenient and scholarly guide. The illustration and description of each type of church make the book a valuable introduction to Scandinavian mediaeval architecture and its connections with the art of other countries.

M. S. DIMAND











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VOL. VIII

THE

NO. 3

# ART BULLETIN

An Illustrated Quarterly published by  
the College Art Association of America

*March 1926*



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- ☞ The Art Bulletin is printed quarterly, and all subscriptions begin with the first number of the current volume.
- ☞ Address all communications to the College Art Association of America, New York University, Washington Square, New York.



# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

Vol. VIII No. 3

MARCH 1926



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PUBLISHED BY  
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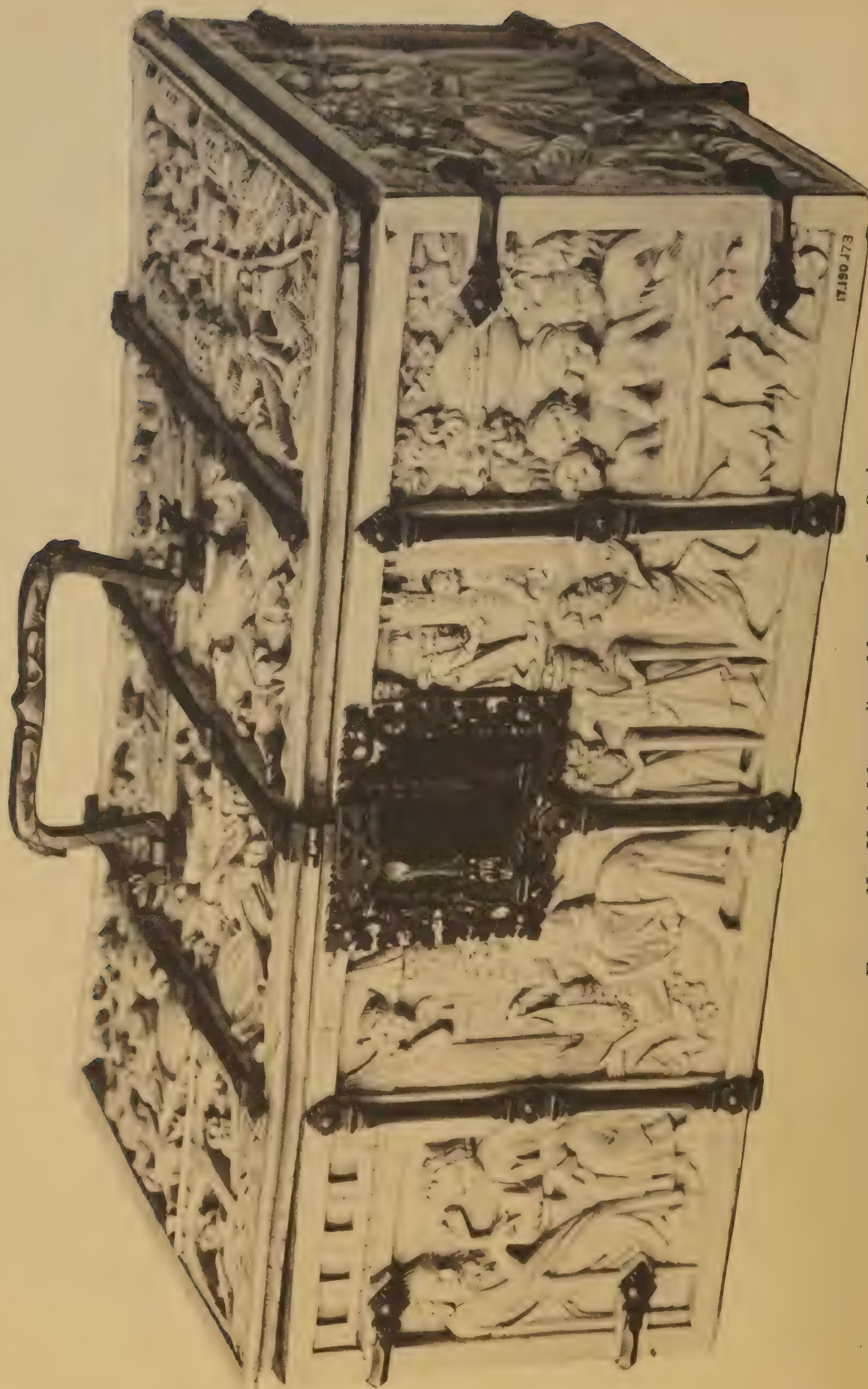


FIG. 1.—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Ivory Casket



# AN IVORY CASKET IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

By THOMAS T. HOOPES

HUMAN customs change but little with the passing of time. In the Middle Ages, as at the present day, a wedding was always an occasion for the giving of costly presents, and then, as now, a "hand-carved ivory jewel case" was among those most acceptable. Especially in France, about the middle of the fourteenth century, such caskets were in high esteem as gifts on the occasion of marriages involving persons of importance, and a number of them, treasured by the recipients and their descendants for generations, have been handed down to us today. They are surprisingly similar; in nearly every case they are decorated with scenes from popular legend and romance, especially with such as would have an allegorical significance appropriate to the occasion for which they were designed.

One group of boxes in particular carry the similarity so far that one could well believe them to have come from the same shop. Their decoration is composed entirely from the allegories and legends of chivalry, which had arisen during the last few centuries, with the single exception of the legend of the outwitting of Aristotle. One box of this type is in the British Museum, another in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, a third in the National Museum at Florence, a fourth in the treasure of Cracow Cathedral. A fifth was formerly in the Waarde Collection, but is now broken up and its plaques scattered, while a sixth, to be mentioned again later, is in a private collection in Paris. Finally, there is a seventh and very fine example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 1).

This last casket, which is the subject of the present discussion, is of ivory throughout, in six plaques held together by iron bands. The bottom is of course plain, but the top and sides are all elaborately carved in low relief. The iron bands divide the top, back, and front into four panels each, and the carving divides itself into scenes in conformity with this panelling. The ends are undivided, but contain each two scenes blending into one another.

The lid (Fig. 2) devotes its panels to two main scenes: a tournament and—a favorite decorative motive in those gay and gallant times—"The Siege of the Castle of Love." A great castle is garrisoned by fair ladies who defend themselves from the assaults of the noble knights outside by a vigorous rain of missiles, which prove on close examination to be flowers. The besiegers attack with the same ammunition, but with the assistance of all the panoply of siege warfare of the period. On the battlements of the left-hand panel three ladies appear. One holds a rose, which she is about to throw; the

second (perhaps her crown is intended to identify her as Venus) is apparently thrusting a large, broad-bladed sword at a knight in chain mail who is scaling the parapet, while a third lends aid and comfort to the enemy by assisting another besieger to clamber over the walls. Below them one of the fair defenders has already concluded a separate peace, and is riding gaily away on a knight's charger, seated before him on the saddle and holding confidently to his shoulders. Below the horse's feet we see masonry arches over waves. A boat is propelled by a servant with a pole while a knight and his lady caress each other in the bow. The arches, too, are presumably part of the castle of love for they are ornamented with applied rose blooms.

The two central panels are also divided horizontally, but here the larger scenes are below. Above is a balcony filled with ladies, who look down with eager interest on two knights tilting below. The contestants are armed like the other knights, in chain mail, with the addition of the special tournament equipment of great helm, triangular shield and triple-pointed lance. Perched above the tilt-yard on projecting branches of trees, two little heralds in skirts and hoods are puffing out their cheeks as they blow fanfares upon enormous horns, longer than themselves.

These two compartments, it will be noted, have nothing to do with the castle of love, but in the right-hand compartment we find the siege going on as furiously as before. The towers and battlements are hard beset. A rope ladder has been thrown against the wall, and a warrior climbs eagerly to the assault; another returns the fire of roses flung down by the ladies, while still a third loads whole baskets of blossoms into the sling of a much conventionalized trebuchet, the great siege engine used to batter down walls.

On the front of the box (Fig. 3) we see the left side devoted to the legend of Aristotle (taken from the popular *Lai d'Alexandre*) and the right to that of the Fountain of Youth. In the left panel Aristotle instructs the youthful Alexander against the temptations of the flesh, especially those inspired by the gay ladies who gather so readily in the neighborhood of young princes. In the adjoining panel of the left center the courtesan Campaspe vindicates the power if not the honor of her sex by compelling the love-smitten philosopher to carry her around the palace gardens on his back, while she controls him with a bridle and plagues him with a whip. To complete his humiliation his pupil Alexander witnesses the whole scene from a parapet of the castle.

In the right center panel a group of elderly persons pursue their pilgrimage toward the Fountain of Youth. Two in the rear walk haltingly, leaning upon their sticks, but the foremost steps forward boldly to the rejuvenation which awaits him. Above their heads the warder of the fountain is about to admit two other aged pilgrims to their miraculous cure. In the right-hand panel that cure has actually been accomplished, and we see bathing in the fountain a group of young and lusty men and women. The fountain behind them is formed as an urn, and the magic water gushes from spouts in the shape of lion heads.

The right end (Fig. 5) contains two scenes blending together. The iconography of





FIG. 2—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Lid of Ivory Casket



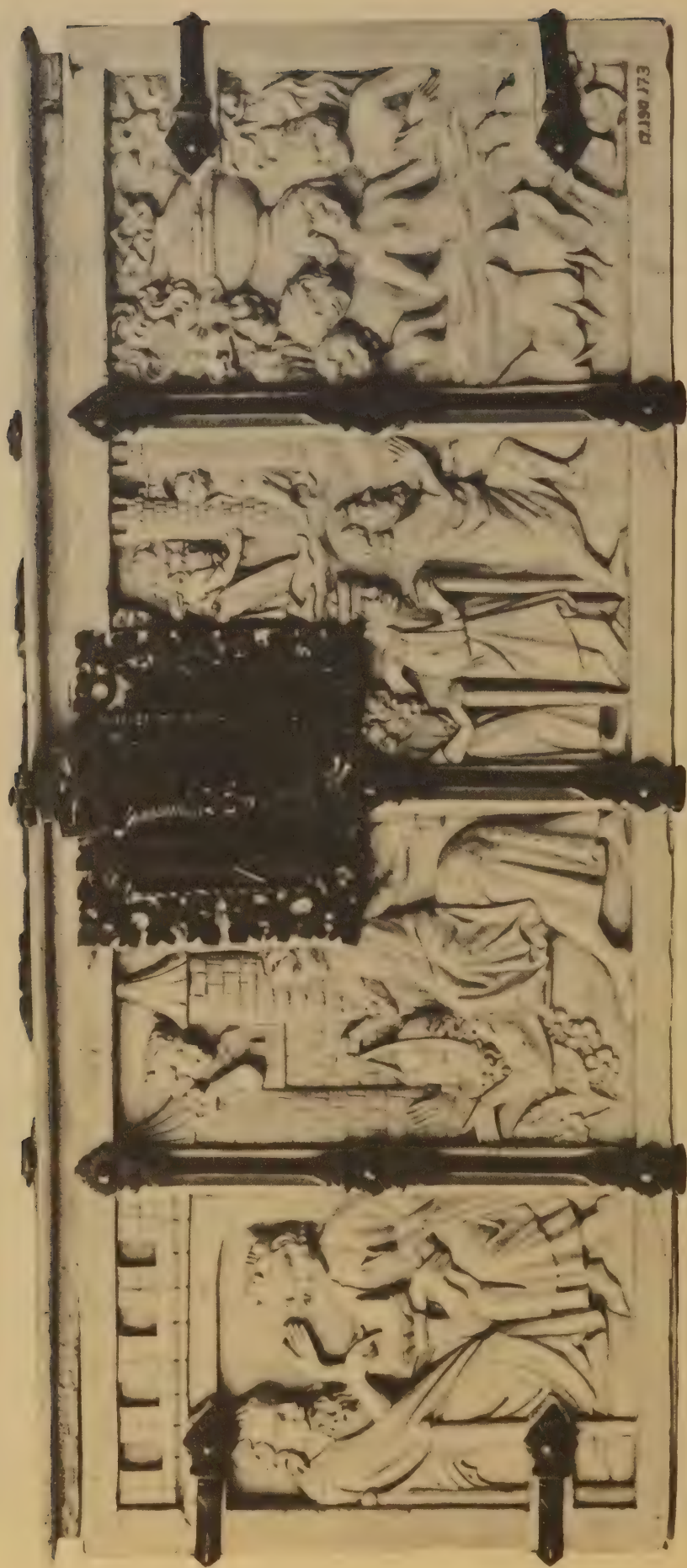


FIG. 3—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Front of Ivory Casket



the left half has been identified by Professor Roger Sherman Loomis<sup>1</sup> as belonging to the story of Enyas and the ungrateful damosel. The scene represents a mounted knight piercing with his lance a Wodehouse, or wild man of the woods, while the form of a maiden is seen between them. As Professor Loomis tells the story, Enyas, an aged knight, rescued the damsel from the wild man who had abducted her. When a younger knight attempted to carry her off from him in turn, Enyas gave the maiden her choice, and she promptly deserted her rescuer to ride off with the younger and handsomer man. Arrogant in his victory, the young knight also demanded Enyas' hound, but the faithful animal was more grateful than the woman, and refused to leave his master. The young man persisted; Enyas defended his rights and slew the robber. The girl, now repentant, turned back to Enyas for protection, but he spurned such hollow devotion and left her in the forest, where she was promptly devoured by wolves.

The right half of the panel (again according to Professor Loomis<sup>2</sup>) depicts one of the adventures of Sir Galahad in his search for the Holy Grail. Questing through a dense forest, he came one day upon seven bold knights whom, one after another, he slew. Proceeding further he arrived at a castle, where he was greeted by an aged seneschal bearing a great key. "Sire," said the latter, "take this key. Now may you do with this castle and those who are therein your pleasure; for you have so wrought that the castle is yours." Galahad took the key from him and, entering, found many noble maidens held there in durance vile for many years, whom he at once liberated without ransom. The scene on the casket depicts the meeting of the knight and the seneschal, with the wall of the castle in the background.

Proceeding to the back of the casket, we find again four scenes (Fig. 4). In the first, on the left, Sir Gawaine fights manfully against a phantom lion. The fierce beast reaches his terrible paw toward the shield of the knight, but the latter has raised his sword and is about to cut off the paw with one mighty blow. The next panel leaves Gawaine and depicts an adventure of Sir Launcelot, who, seeking the abducted Guenivere, with two companions, found his course interrupted by a raging torrent. The others were faint-hearted, and dared go no further, but Launcelot, making a bridge of his sword, crept across and won to mighty adventures on the further side. In the carving Launcelot is seen bent over and balancing himself with an appearance of no little nervousness, as he walks over the torrent on the *edge* of his sword. Over his head is a shower of swords and lances raining down upon him; these apparently have no place in the original legend, and are introduced only to form an artistic balance with the adjoining scene.<sup>3</sup>

In the next scene we come back to Gawaine, who continues his quest. He has come to a great castle, which, to his surprise, appears to be unoccupied. Weary with his long journey, he seeks repose on a sumptuous bed, but very wisely takes the precaution of

1. *Art in America*, V, pp. 19 ff.

2. *Loc: cit.*

3. See Raymond Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français*, I, 496-7.

retaining his armor. It is well for him that he has done so, for no sooner is he asleep than the little bells attached to the bedclothes begin gently to ring, a signal for a down-pour of weapons upon the body of the unconscious paladin. His armor protects him, however, and he sleeps on quite tranquilly, well guarded by his shirt of mail and by the great shield to which is still affixed the paw of his recent adversary, the lion.

Having survived these perilous and magical adventures, the hero found the castle released from the spell which had been placed upon it, and in the adjoining panel three of the imprisoned maidens advance to greet their deliverer.

The left end, like the right, contains two scenes blended (Fig. 6). The left is a bit from the story of Tristan and Iseult. The lovers have met in a wood, and have stopped to converse in a glade in which is a clear fountain. The jealous King Mark, hidden in the trees above the spring, peers down with quite the air of a modern divorce witness, but Tristan, noticing the reflection of the eavesdropper in the pool below, signals to his mistress that their conversation must be for the moment above reproach.

The adjoining scene illustrates the legend of the unicorn, so fierce and fleet that no man may catch him, but so chivalrous withal that he becomes completely tame in the presence of a virgin. In quite human fashion, his chivalry proves the unicorn's downfall, for the hunter, having secured a complaisant virgin, stations her where the unicorn will be sure to pass. When he does so and, kneeling, pays his gentle tribute to purity, the virtuous maid signals her accomplice, who comes from behind and transfixes the fond beast.

The death of the unicorn completes our summary of the iconography of the casket. Let us now apply to its history and execution the touchstone of critical examination. Let us see whether in fact the box is in all respects the complete masterpiece it represents itself to be.

First of all, let us study the metal mountings which hold the panels of the casket together. Notice the appearance of the escutcheon plate on the front (Fig. 8). There is one surprising thing about it which appears at the first glance: this plate does not quite fit. It is just a little larger than the space available for it; as a result it very slightly overlaps the iron strap which divides the front panel in the center. Surely there is something queer about this. The artist-artisan who made such a box, at the height of the Gothic period, was not the man to do so careless a piece of work in mounting the sections of his masterpiece. The discrepancy in size is not, we shall see later, so important as it first appears; nevertheless look again at the pierced work in the region of the hasp slot. Here, where it cannot be seen when the casket is closed, the workmanship seems different, less conscientious, less delicate, less leisurely. The Gothic character seems somehow lacking, the work looks like the hurried, mechanical product of a later day. Observe the edges of the piercings; they seem surprisingly fresh and sharp, not mellowed, smoothed, and polished by the passing years and the thousand-times-repeated insertion of the hasp in the lock. The coating of rust on the metal here is also





FIG. 4—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Back of Ivory Casket

strange; it is not the smooth and glossy patina of age, but the thin, coarse coating of a few years.

The other iron fittings seem less doubtful. They look, many of them, quite above suspicion, while even those which might be a little doubtful are of so plain and simple a character that proof of modernity would be extremely difficult to establish. Nevertheless, they give us another important clew. If we look closely at the two upper corners and the left lower corner of the left end of the casket (Fig. 6), where the corner irons fasten the end plates to the back and front, we shall observe that in each case a small slip of ivory has been inserted under the metal mounting. Similar inserts are to be seen at the lower right corner of the back, at three corners of the right end, and at all the fittings of the rear half of the bottom. Now note again that the plain, uncarved, strips of ivory upon which the straps rest never seem quite large enough, that the straps seem always to overlap just a little the carved ornamentation. In other words, if the three panels did belong together, they have certainly been remounted with iron strips considerably larger than those for which they were originally designed.

When we lift the lid and look at the interior of the casket we are at once struck by the fact that the present hasp on the outside of the lid is not the original one, for there is a well defined cavity for the attachment of a hasp on the inside of the lid (Fig. 9). Again, note that the hinges of the cover are on the outside of the box, being continuations of the vertical division irons of the back and top. However, we may observe in the rear edge of the top, and in the upper edge of the back, corresponding rows of small holes about an inch apart, holes which are now filled with ivory plugs. There can be little question that the top was originally attached by means of small eyelets in these corresponding rows of holes, a stiff wire serving as the hinge pin.

But now this is not the case, nor can it be, for the lid no longer fits *into* the box, with its flange only resting upon the edges of the sides; instead, it rests *upon* the edges of the sides, having apparently expanded somewhat with the passage of time. This new position leaves visible an ugly margin between the sides and the flange of the top, but nevertheless the ironwork is adapted to retain the parts in that relative position. Moreover, owing to a restoration (to be discussed at greater length hereafter) which fills this open margin at the back, the eyelet holes in the top are quite cut off from the corresponding holes in the back.

So we seem to be reasonably justified in considering the casket to be composed of a number of plaques which probably originally belonged together, but which have certainly been entirely remounted. The irons probably are new in part, and may be entirely modern. Let us now take up the individual ivory plates.

The more closely we study the top of the box the more clearly authentic, on the whole, does it appear to be. The ivory is of convincing color and texture, the patina is excellent, and the workmanship of the carving is of high quality. But restorations have been made upon it; a fact, by the way, which is at least suggestive of the probable





FIG. 5—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Right End of Ivory Casket*



FIG. 6—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Left End of Ivory Casket*

genuineness of the unrestored portions. To increase the width of the flange at the back, and to fill the space, previously noted, between the flange and the upper edge of the back plate, thereby to adapt the lid to its later mounting, a small strip of ivory has been riveted the entire length of the back edge. The work is only fair; the color of the added strip differs perceptibly from that of the rest of the lid, and the rivets with which it is attached appear, on the inside of the box, clean and new. Note again that the row of plugged holes along the rear edge of the lid does not extend through this added piece.

Much greater skill has been exercised upon an important restoration of the left upper corner of the lid. The new work includes two members of the female garrison of the castle of love and touches the face of a third and the hand and top of the mail hood of one of the attacking knights. The carving is excellent and matches well that of the rest of the lid; the same is true of the color. The attachment has been made with great care and skill. The edges of the broken corner of the lid and of the restoration respectively, have been chamferred and fitted together, so that no clear crack is visible through the thickness of the lid. Moreover, the line of joining the old and new portions changes its direction sharply as it strikes the plain uncarved edge. Thus, even if an observer should happen to notice the cracks in the borders, his eye would be led off in the direction of perfectly sound ivory, and he would in all probability fail to see the faint line joining the two cracks across the carved surface. Unfortunately for the restorer, the inside of the lid is entirely smooth and uncarved, so that, in spite of his skill, the line of the joining appears clearly when the lid is raised (Fig. 12).

Another restoration, of unimportant character, is that of the front half of the bottom. Fig. 10 shows the crack dividing the old and new portions. Note the difference in texture between them and note also the ivory dowels holding the bevelled edges together. Here the restorer has been at no pains to conceal his work. That the front portion is later than the rear is indicated by the fact that the front shows no indications of remounting, while the rear part shows under the irons the same plugged holes that we find on the back and ends (Fig. 11).

The back and end panels appear to be of unquestionable authenticity, without restorations or alterations except for the alteration of the attachment of the metal fittings, but the front tells another story.

The box came to the Metropolitan Museum in the princely gift of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's collection of mediaeval art, with the record of having been previously in the Oppenheim, Spitzer, and Meyrick collections. It has been described and illustrated in the catalogues of both the Oppenheim and Spitzer collections, and as so published had exactly its present appearance. But Koechlin<sup>4</sup> has brought out the interesting fact that there is an earlier and different record of the piece. Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, in 1836, described in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*<sup>5</sup> the collection of antiquities left to him by

4. *Ibid.*, II, 453.

5. V, n.s., p. 383.





FIG. 7—Paris, Collection of M. Daguerre: Front of Ivory Casket



FIG. 8

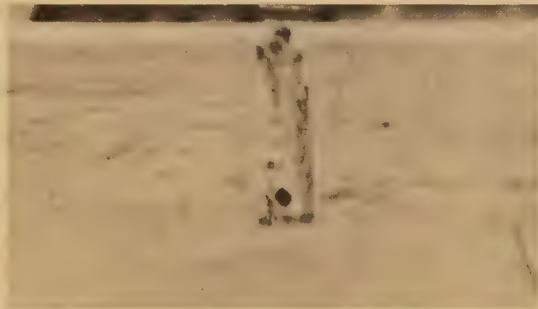


FIG. 9

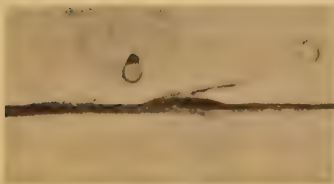


FIG. 10

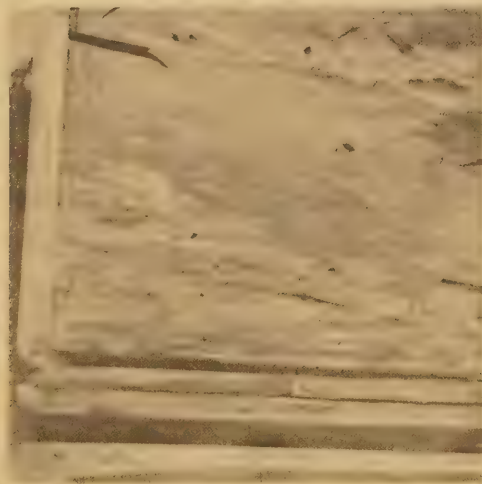


FIG. 12

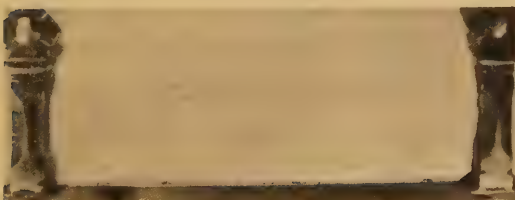


FIG. 11



FIG. 13



FIG. 14

FIGS. 8-14—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Details of Ivory Casket. 8—Escutcheon Plate. 9—Detail of Inside of Lid. 10-11—Details of Bottom. 12—Detail of Inside of Lid. 13—Detail of Front. 14—Detail of Lid

the will of Francis Douce, Esquire, and among the objects in this collection was a casket which, as described, exactly corresponded with this one with the exception that *the front was lacking*. Koechlin points out that there is good possibility that the casket so described is the present specimen and adds that the front, if restored, is a very good restoration. The other commentators on the casket make no mention of this interesting possibility.

Now this documentary evidence indicates three possibilities: first, the front may be the actual original front, which was somehow separated from the rest of the pieces at the time of Meyrick's inheritance; second, it may be a genuine contemporary panel from another casket; third, it may be a modern restoration. Let us see which of these possibilities is favored by the internal evidence of the object itself.

Note first the color of the front as compared with the other panels; see especially the freshness of the ivory background in the left-hand scene (that of Aristotle instructing Alexander); study the cracks in the bottom border (Fig. 13) which begin at the rivets holding the metal bars in place; see how clean and fresh these cracks appear; note the sharpness of the edges; observe that there is no discoloration working its way outward from the edges of the cracks. Compare with these the similar cracks in the rear edge of the lid (Fig. 14) which were presumably made at the same time (when the new irons were applied); see how the latter have become rounded from the easy crumbling of the ancient ivory, and how they show the deep penetration of the surface patina. There is an ivory plug in the upper left corner under the corner strap, placed there apparently to increase the illusion of age by suggesting that the front has been remounted like the other pieces; but observe that this plug is off center and could not have replaced an original, early, rivet hole. Again, the stain which has been applied to the inner surface of the panel has penetrated evenly part way through the ivory, leaving a sharp line along the upper edge, a line quite distinct from the gentle blending of the patina on the edges of the other panels. Study the characteristics of the faces on the front, and compare them with those on the other parts of the box: there is somehow a subtle difference; noses, eyebrows, and eyes here have inescapable modernity.

Is there any external evidence that the panel may be not simply an old one from a different casket assembled with the other pieces here, but, instead, an actual forgery? In Meyrick's account of the carved ivories of the "Doucean Museum" he mentions two caskets. One description, as we have already noted, exactly corresponds with the present casket except that the front is described as lacking. The other casket has distinct iconographic differences, but it is complete; all the parts are present. Furthermore, Meyrick mentions the casket as having been engraved prior to its appearance in Mr. Douce's collection in John Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Painting and Sculpture in England*. And this engraving<sup>6</sup> illustrates the front as well as other parts of the casket

6. II, p. 146.



in question. Now it seems that both of these caskets went from the Meyrick to the Spitzer collection, after which they separated, one going successively to Oppenheim, Morgan, and the Metropolitan Museum; the other to Hainauer, d'Economos, and M. Daguerre, who now owns it. This second casket (Fig. 17) has been republished and reillustrated by Koechlin.<sup>7</sup> The two illustrations—Koechlin, 1924, and Carter, 1787—exactly correspond; there can be no question that M. Daguerre's casket is the one possessed at the same time as Mr. Morgan's by Douce, Meyrick, and Spitzer.

Since the Morgan casket was without a front when it came to Mr. Meyrick, and since it had one when it left Mr. Spitzer, the front must have been added by one of these two owners, presumably the latter, since Meyrick frankly publishes the fact that the casket came to him incomplete. Both, as we have seen, owned the same two caskets; one complete, one incomplete. We compare the suspicious front plaque of the museum box with that of its complete companion: the resemblance is altogether too good to be true. Line for line, cut for cut, expression for expression, the front of the Morgan casket is identical with the other. The workmanship, though nearly, is not quite so good; otherwise they might almost have come from a mould. Just one or two slight changes have been introduced by the copyist, apparently with deliberate intent to reduce the otherwise glaring resemblance. The water plants in the Fountain of Youth scene vary just a little, and there are one or two other slight differences.

But there is one particular variation which may well serve to clinch the argument. In the Daguerre casket Alexander, looking down from the battlements, allows his arm to hang indifferently. In the museum plaque the copyist has been inspired. Knowing and caring little for the legends which the carvings illustrate, he has borrowed a more definite gesture from the top of the casket and shows Alexander throwing down a rose in just the manner of the ladies who guard the Castle of Love. This ridiculous interpolation, of course, has no parallel on any of the other known caskets; it could only have been introduced by a forger who copied quite blindly what he found available.

So we may sum up our contentions as follows. The ivory casket, no. 17.190.173, in the Morgan Wing of the Metropolitan Museum is composed of the following original parts: back, ends, most of top, half of bottom, and possibly part of iron fittings. These pieces, except for the possibly old portion of the irons, probably belonged together, but have been entirely reassembled. The following parts of the casket are modern restorations: front, left upper corner and strip along back of lid, half of bottom, escutcheon plate, and possibly other iron fittings. Yet even with its restorations and assembling, the casket remains one of the finest extant examples of the glorious period of Gothic carving.

7. *Op. cit.*, no. 1281.



FIG. 1—Asolo, Canonica della Parrocchia: *Madonna with St. Elizabeth*, by Bacchiacca

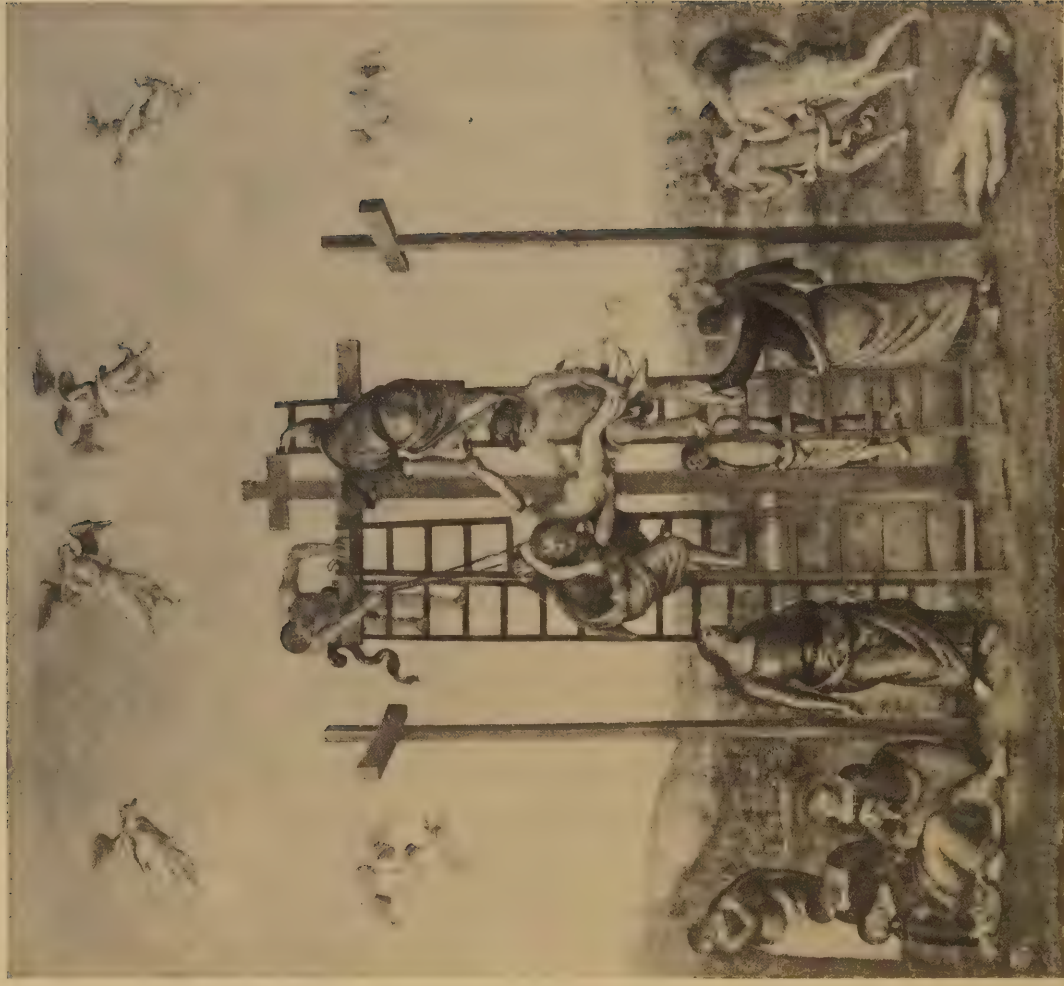


FIG. 2—Bassano, Museo Civico: *Deposition*, by Bacchiacca



# FRANCESCO UBERTINI (BACCHIACCA)<sup>1</sup>

By ARTHUR McCOMB

**F**RANCESCO UBERTINI (1494–1557), called Il Bacchiacca, was the son of Ubertino di Bartolommeo, a goldsmith. His family came from S. Lorenzo in the Mugello valley.<sup>2</sup> Though Bacchiacca was a personal friend of Vasari, that writer did not see fit to devote one of the *Lives* to him. He is mentioned incidentally in the accounts of Granacci, Franciabigio, Perugino, Aristotile da S. Gallo, Tribolo, and Pontormo. In this way we learn that he was a pupil of Perugino<sup>3</sup> and that “*Fu . . . amico d’Andrea del Sarto e da lui molto aiutato e favorito nelle cose dell’arte. Fu diligente pittore,*” Vasari continues, “*e particolarmente in fare figure piccole, le quali conduceva perfette e con molta pazienza . . . ;*” and again, “*era ottimo pittore in ritrarre tutte le sorti d’animali,*” and because of this (!) he passed into the service of Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany.<sup>4</sup> Further, Vasari tells us: “*Dilettosi il Bacchiacca di far grottesche; onde al Signor Duca Cosimo fece un studiolo pieno d’animali e d’erbe rare ritratte delle naturali che sono tenute bellissime.*” These slight notices are supplemented by one or two of a more personal kind. Thus it seems that Bacchiacca enjoyed a fair measure of “success,” for “*visse sempre assai costumatamente e da uomo da bene.*”<sup>4</sup> His portrait may be seen, we are told,<sup>5</sup> in Bronzino’s picture of 1552, the Descent into Hades, together with those of Pontormo and G. B. Gello. He appears therein a man of between fifty and sixty years of age, which accords with dates gleaned by Milanesi from the archives.

Vasari gives us very little information about specific paintings by Bacchiacca, but in the life of Granacci<sup>6</sup> he tells us that Bacchiacca painted for Pier Francesco Borgherini “*molte storie della vita di Ioseppe;*” and in the life of Pontormo<sup>7</sup> he refers to Pontormo’s having painted, in competition with others, cassoni with Joseph stories for Borgherini.<sup>8</sup> Andrea del Sarto was one of the others<sup>9</sup> and the two pictures with Joseph stories by him are now in the Pitti. Von Reumont assigned them to the year 1523, “with a better insight than we can obtain,” say Crowe and Cavalcaselle, “into the history of the Borgherini family;” 1523 was, however, the date of the Scalzo frescoes, and from inter-

1. I wish to thank Sir Herbert Cook, Mr. F. A. White, Mr. Morris Carter, Mr. J. R. Saunders, Mr. Hamilton Bell, and the Administration of the Fogg Art Museum for their great kindness in supplying me with photographs not publicly accessible. I should like also to acknowledge my indebtedness for various items of information to Mr. Bernard Berenson and to Mr. Maurice Brockwell.

2. Notes of Milanesi in his edition of Vasari, *Vite*, VI, p. 454.

3. Vasari, *Vite*, ed. Milanesi, III, p. 592.

4. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 455.

5. *Ibid.*, ed. Foster, V, p. 472.

6. *Ibid.*, ed. Milanesi, V, p. 342.

7. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 261.

8. Two of these are now at Panshanger in the collection of Lady Desborough, and one is in the National Gallery, no. 1131.

9. *Ibid.*, ed. Foster, III, p. 201.

nal evidence Andrea's two paintings must be assigned to about that time. We get in this way an approximate date for Bacchiacca's Joseph stories (Figs. 12 and 13), which are now in the National Gallery.<sup>10</sup>

In the life of Franciabigio, Vasari states that Bacchiacca painted a picture, "one of two in like manner to Franciabigio's and Pontormo's, the figures of which are very small," for Giovanni Maria Benintendi. In the life of Aristotele da S. Gallo he tells us that one of the Benintendi pictures was a Baptism. In the edition of Vasari published at Florence in 1771 the annotator says that the two Benintendi pictures passed "*non molti anni sono*" to Dresden, together with a Franciabigio, "*che gli faceva accompagnatura.*"<sup>11</sup> The Franciabigio is the well-known Bathsheba; the Pontormo is probably the Adoration of the Magi in the Pitti; one of the Bacchiaccas is the Legend of the Dead King (Fig. 14), while its companion piece, the Baptism above referred to (Fig. 7), is no longer at Dresden but in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin.

Again, in the life of S. Gallo, Vasari mentions a predella from S. Lorenzo. This predella, which has now passed to the Uffizi, depicts three scenes from the Life of S. Acasio (Figs. 15, 16, and 17).

Examining the five pictures thus authenticated by Vasari (Figs. 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17), we find that their style bears out the general remarks he makes as to Bacchiacca's manner. The figures are small and carefully executed, the flesh tones rather cold, the surface finished though not *smalto*, the landscape generalized, the *sfumato* profoundly influenced by Andrea del Sarto. From Franciabigio comes the predilection for a metallic blue, but the Peruginesque traits that we might expect from a pupil of the great master are absent: there is only the octagonal Bramantesque structure in the center of the Dresden picture and in no. 1219 of the National Gallery. Borrowings from beyond the Alps were so frequent in the early decades of the sixteenth century in Florence<sup>12</sup> that it is hardly a surprise to find Bacchiacca taking details of costume from the engravings of Lucas van Leyden<sup>13</sup>, so that in the Acasio scenes we find figures with plumed hats who might be Landsknechte. In this connection we may call attention to our artist's interest in costume, which, together with a predilection for picturesque narrative and genre, reveals him as having to some extent a quattrocento mentality. Everything else, however, in these panels—the type of figures, the technique, the general aspect—is cinquecento. It is cinquecento painting by an eclectic who lacked

10. These were among the paintings that the dealer della Palla endeavored unsuccessfully to get from the wife of Borgherini while the latter was in exile. Ostensibly he was acting as agent for Francis I (*Ibid.*, ed. Milanesi, VI, p. 263).

11. *Ibid.*, III, p. 592, n.

12. One has only to think of the superb if ruined frescoes by Pontormo in the cloister of the Certosa di Val d'Ema painted in 1522–5 to realize a notable instance of indebtedness to Dürer.

13. This fact was noted by Morelli. The type of close-fitting sleeve favored by Bacchiacca is to be seen in such engravings by Lucas van Leyden as his Calvary (for illustration see N. Beets, *Lucas de Leyde*, Brussels, 1913, p. 521). From the Calvary Bacchiacca took over the figure of the man who appears in the foreground (with a whip in one hand and pointing with the other) of the Uffizi Martyrdom of S. Acasio, as well as minor passages. Freiherr von Hadeln has pointed out an instance of borrowing from Dürer, as we shall see later on.





FIG. 3—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Resurrection*, by Perugino



FIG. 4—Dijon, Museum. *Resurrection*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 5—London, Collection of Mr. F. A. White: *Birth Plate with Crystal-Gazing Scene, by Bacchiacca*



FIG. 6—London, Collection of Mr. F. A. White: *Reverse of Birth Plate, by Bacchiacca*



FIG. 7—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: *Baptism, by Bacchiacca*



capacity for the "grand manner," who ignored that generalizing which was later to be considered the very essence of the great age. The five panels all belong apparently to the same period in the artist's career, and that period, as we have seen, is about 1523.

If now we can find works by Bacchiacca in which the Peruginesque traits predominate, we shall be justified in placing them earlier in his career than those we have been considering; for, if Bacchiacca was, as Vasari states, a pupil of Perugino, it is much more probable that he frequented that master's workshop while the latter was in Florence in 1505-6, than that he went especially to Perugia to study under him at some later date. There is no reason why an artist should have left the artistic center of Italy to enter on an apprenticeship in a provincial town.

Chiefly owing to the lack of definitely dated pictures the exact chronology of Bacchiacca's works is hard to determine. I certainly think that Morelli's division of his career into the three periods, (i) before 1518, (ii) 1518-36, (iii) 1536-57,<sup>14</sup> is too hard and fast. It can fairly be assumed that Bacchiacca's first efforts were Peruginesque; it is equally certain that about 1523 he was painting in a manner influenced by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio; it is likewise reasonable to suppose, bearing in mind the evolution of other contemporary Florentines, that those paintings by the master which are hard, "polished," and Michelangesque belong to a late, but not exactly delimitable, period in his career. To this time belongs, for instance, the Decapitation of the Baptist in Berlin (Fig. 25). The figure of Salome here is unthinkable without a knowledge of Michelangelo's Dawn, which suffices to place the picture at a date posterior to 1533. These periods may be said to melt into one another, as when we find in the Madonna at Asolo Veneto (Fig. 1) the pose of the Madonna recalling Perugino, the color, Franciabigio. Again in the works of his later "smooth" period we find Bacchiacca repeating figures from his earlier works, so that it would be dangerous to date a given work only on the basis of the correspondence of the figures with those in some other work. Such imitations of Raphael as the Fearon Madonna (Fig. 30) must be considered earlier than other imitations of Raphael such as the Madonna once in the Doetsch Collection and the Madonna at Wiesbaden (Fig. 28), of which the execution is smoother and less pleasing. Again, though we have assumed that our artist studied under Perugino in 1505-6, we find him imitating that master as late as the early twenties, for the Dijon Resurrection (Fig. 4) shows striking affinities with Perugino's Resurrection in the Vatican, a work of the Umbrian's late period.<sup>15</sup> Our master, so amenable to the influence of his greater contemporaries, is found in a Leonardesque mood in the Holy Family in the Cook Collection (Fig. 29).

Bacchiacca was equally eclectic in his choice of architectural backgrounds. I have referred to his introduction of octagonal Bramantesque structures into his pictures;

14. Morelli, *Italian Painters, The Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries*, pp. 101 f.

15. Perugino died in 1524.

the plain plaster walls relieved by accents of heavy rustication, so favored by the Florentine cinquecento, are also found. An interesting instance of both types appearing together is in the Dresden Legend of the Dead King (Fig. 14). At a later period the thatched and pointed roofs of obviously northern dwellings (doubtless taken from German woodcuts) make their appearance and replace the elegant sobriety of Italy. The purity of the architectural mouldings in the *desco* belonging to Mr. White (Fig. 5) and in the Shuvaloff Madonna should be noted.

The incurable eclecticism of Bacchiacca verges at times on plagiarism and has earned for him the criticism of being a paste-and-scissors artist. This is too often a just criticism. Again and again his *motifs* can be traced to some greater contemporary; repeatedly he uses the same figures in different combinations; but, after all, the combinations are fanciful and charming. And then sometimes he lays the paste and scissors aside. Of his own invention are the *desco* (Figs. 5 and 6) belonging to Mr. F. A. White, depicting a crystal-gazing scene, unique in the whole range of Florentine *deschi*; the female portrait in the Gardner Collection (Fig. 18); the youth once in the Butler Collection (Fig. 8); the Lady with a Cat in Berlin (Fig. 19); the two portraits of ladies as Magdalen in the Pitti and Miss Hertz's collection (Figs. 21 and 23). What piquancy and grace in the feminine portraits, even a touch of slyness, and what a serious and slightly melancholy dignity in the youth!

Morelli did not know these portraits, yet without them one's estimate of Bacchiacca would suffer. Morelli's high regard for the artist no doubt came from the fact that he was Bacchiacca's discoverer and from his bias in favor of sixteenth century art, as much as from the genuine aesthetic qualities of the works involved. Morelli mentions twenty-one pictures by Bacchiacca. Berenson, in his list, accepts all these except the portrait of a boy in the Louvre<sup>16</sup> and a Madonna belonging to Professor Nicole of Lausanne,<sup>17</sup> and he adds no less than twenty-nine to the total. To these Signor Poggi adds two.<sup>18</sup> I am adding here four more (Figs. 2, 10, 11, and 26)<sup>19</sup> and am reproducing a number of others for the first time.

One other phase of Bacchiacca's activity should be mentioned. Vasari tells us that "*fece [il Bacchiacca] i cartoni per molti panni d'arazzo che poi furono tessuti di seta da maestro Giovanni Rosto, fiammingo per le stanze di Su Eccellenza.*" Three such tapestries executed by Rost on Bacchiacca's cartoons are in the Galleria degli Arazzi in Florence. They represent the twelve months of the year and were first identified by Morelli as those referred to by Vasari.<sup>20</sup> Since the first contract between the Ducal government

16. With this judgment I am in entire agreement. Mr. Berenson thinks the portrait may be by Sogliani.

17. This work—a *Vierge au Sein*—Morelli tells us was repainted and "hawked about Europe . . . in the vain hope of finding a credulous purchaser." I have not been able to trace it. Morelli placed it at the end of Bacchiacca's first period, i. e., about 1518 (*op. cit.*, p. 105).

18. The Madonna formerly in the Doetsch Collection and the replica of the Serristori Madonna.

19. The Madonna in Dresden, The Deposition in Bassano, the Deposition in the Seminario at Venice, and the Baptism once in the possession of Mr. J. R. Saunders.

20. Vasari, *op. cit.*, III, p. 592; Morelli, *loc. cit.*





FIG. 8—London, Ex-Butler Collection: Portrait of a Young Man,  
by Bacchiacca



FIG. 9—Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: Crucifixion,  
by Bacchiacca





FIG. 10—London, Formerly at Mr. Saunders': Baptism, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 11—Venice, Seminario: Deposition, by Bacchiacca



(whence the order for the tapestries came) and the weavers is dated October 20, 1546,<sup>21</sup> these designs probably date from the late forties. The tapestries are divided into compartments vertically and are bordered horizontally by putti, masks, cornucopias, garlands of leaves and fruit, terminal figures, birds, etc.—all the repertoire of Renaissance decoration. Within the compartments are represented the activities appropriate to the months under their respective signs of the zodiac, which fill the cartouches in the upper border. The illustration (Fig. 22) reproduces the episodes referring to the months of December, January, and February.

LIST OF THE WORKS OF BACCHIACCA<sup>22</sup>

Asolo, Canonica della Parrochia: Madonna with St. Elizabeth and the Infant St. John (Fig. 1).<sup>\*</sup> Discovered at Carpenedo, near Mestre, in 1875. Formerly in the possession of Don Giacomo Bertoldi. The picture was considered a Raphael by several connoisseurs. Morelli saw that it was obviously a Bacchiacca. His attribution was accepted by Berenson and by Poggi, who pointed out that the Elizabeth is repeated in the Berlin Baptism (Fig. 7). She is in this painting the third in the group of five figures at the left. Date: before 1520. Published by B. Bertoldi, *Di una nuova tavoletta di Raffaele*, Asolo, 1897; F. de Amicis, *Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino e la sua Madonna delle Missioni che si conserva in Asolo Veneto nella Raccolta Bertoldi*, Genova, 1906.

Bassano, Museo Civico: Descent from the Cross (Fig. 2). Many of the stock Peruginesque poses and stage properties are to be found in this picture. More unusual is the *motif* of the two men on the right who are carrying away one of the thieves on their shoulders. These two figures are significant also as pointing the way to Bacchiacca's middle period, both in their types and in the corkscrew flutter of the loin cloths they wear. Later Bacchiacca practically repeated this picture, substituting Andreëskue figures for the Peruginesque. Date: certainly after 1517 and before 1523. Published with reproduction by Oskar Fischel (*Die Zeichnung der Umbrier*, Berlin, 1917, p. 61, fig. 69a), who points out its derivation from Perugino's ruined fresco at S. Maria dei Servi in Città delle Pieve.

Bergamo, Accademia Carrara: Cain Slaying Abel.<sup>\*</sup> Reminiscent of Albertinelli. Date: about 1520. Published with reproduction by Berenson in *The Connoisseur*, no. 1902, p. 145.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Baptism (Fig. 7).<sup>\*</sup> There are no less than forty figures in the foreground and middle distance of this picture. The affected child seated at the left in the foreground is the same as the figure at the extreme left of no. 1219 in the National Gallery (Fig. 13). The man taking off his shirt preparatory to baptism is to be found also in the S. Acasio baptismal scene (Fig. 15). Many of the groups here

21. The archival reference is given by F. M. Clapp, *Pontormo*, p. 184.

22. Those paintings in the following list marked with an asterisk are listed by Berenson in his *Central Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, pp. 108–110.

were repeated in a picture formerly belonging to Mr. Saunders, the London dealer (Fig. 10). Date: probably 1523. Published with reproduction by G. Poggi, *Di una Madonna di Bacchiacca attribuito a Raffaello* in *Monatshefte*, 1908, pp. 275-80.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Portrait of a Lady with a Cat (Fig. 19).<sup>\*</sup> She is dressed in green. The background is gray. Hitherto not reproduced.

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: Decapitation of John the Baptist (Fig. 25).<sup>\*</sup> Freiherr von Hadeln has pointed out that the composition of this picture was taken from Dürer's woodcut of 1510 (see Bartsch, 125). The Salome is inspired by Michelangelo's Dawn. Both Salome and the serving maid are the same as in the picture of the Bardini Collection. The man in armor at the right is the same man who stands under the portico in the London Joseph picture, no. 1218 (Fig. 12). The reader will also recognize without difficulty the Pitti Magdalene (Fig. 21). Late work. Published with reproduction by H. Voss, *Spätmalerei der Renaissance in Rom und Florenz*, p. 161. See also Freiherr von Hadeln, *Bilder Romaninos und Bacchiaccas und ihre Beziehung zu Dürer*, in *Jahrb. d. Kgl. Pr. Kunsts.*, 1908, XXIX, pp. 247-51.

Berlin, Collection of Herr Eugen Schweizer: Leda.<sup>\*</sup> Against dark trees, the short-necked swan, that stands on a little mound of earth, caresses Leda. On the ground are three of her four children, Castor, Pollux, and Helen (or Clytemnestra?). The picture recalls the Jupiter and Leda by Franciabigio in the Brussels Museum, which Crowe and Cavalcaselle describe as "a poor school piece by Sarto, possibly Bacchiacca," but which was correctly attributed by Frizzoni.<sup>23</sup> Date: about 1523. Published with reproduction by Schubring, *Cassoni*, no. 829 and pl. CLXXVI. See also Frizzoni in *Archiv. stor. dell'arte*, 1896, p. 400.

Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: Portrait of a Lady (Fig. 18).<sup>\*</sup> She wears a green bodice with white trimmings and full, dull-red sleeves. Around her throat is a gold necklace; over her hair is an olive-green scarf with violet ribbons. The background is dark. Date: 1525-35. Hitherto unpublished.

Budapest, Museum: Preaching of St. John the Baptist (Fig. 32).<sup>\*</sup> Presumably this is the picture which Morelli referred to as being in his time in the possession of the Marchese Bacciocchi in Florence. Published by Morelli, *Italian Painters*, I; *The Borghese and Doria-Pamfili Galleries*, pp. 101 f.

Dijon, Museum: Resurrection (Fig. 4).<sup>\*</sup> A variation on the Resurrection of Perugino's late period in the Vatican Gallery. An even closer parallel is afforded by a predella panel of the same subject in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, ascribed to Perugino (Fig. 3). This predella panel is one of five (of which the other four are now in the Ryerson Collection in Chicago), all formerly in the Barker Collection and noted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (ed. Hutton, III, p. 258). A comparison of the two reproductions will show a clear case of copying on Bacchiacca's part as far as concerns the

23. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *A New History of Painting in Italy*, ed. Hutton, III, p. 511.





FIG. 12—London, National Gallery: *Stories from the Life of Joseph*, by Bacchiacca

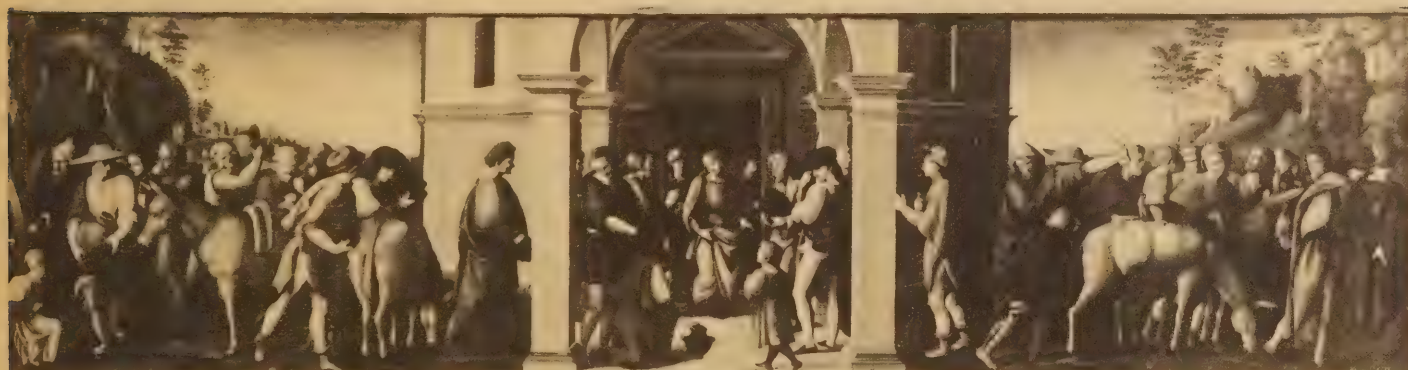


FIG. 13—London, National Gallery: *Stories from the Life of Joseph*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 14—Dresden, Gemäldegalerie: *Legend of the Dead King*, by Bacchiacca





FIG. 15—Florence, Uffizi: *Baptism of S. Acasio* (left part of a *predella*), by Bacchiacca



FIG. 16—Florence, Uffizi: *S. Acasio Defeating a Rebellion* (central part of a *predella*), by Bacchiacca

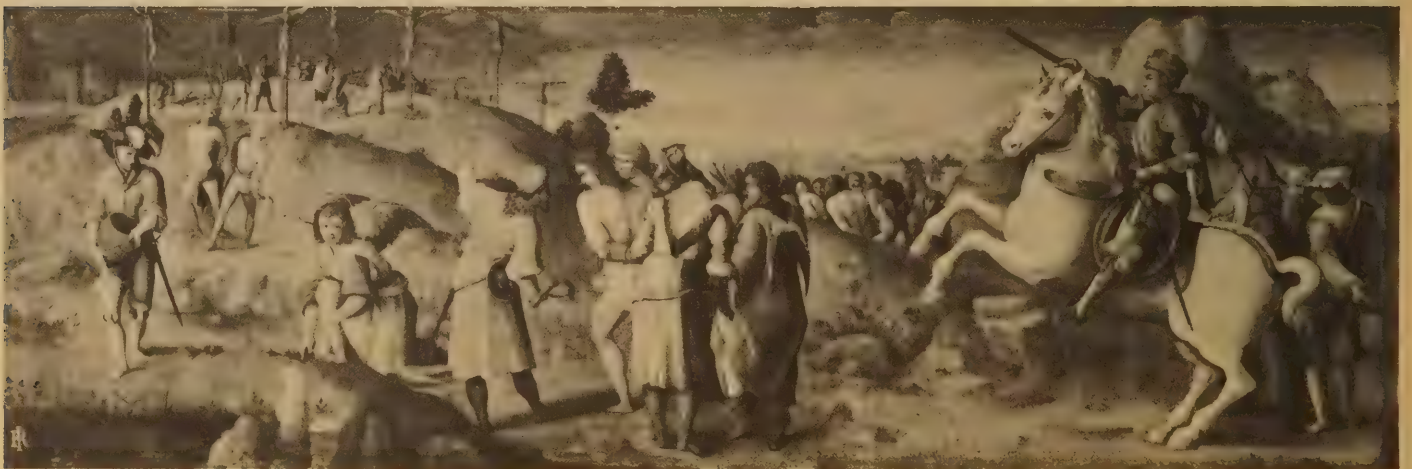


FIG. 17—Florence, Uffizi: *Martyrdom of S. Acasio and his Companions* (right part of a *predella*), by Bacchiacca



five figures and the tomb. The two landscape backgrounds throw a distinct light on the difference between the Florentine and Umbrian schools in the treatment of this element. The Dijon Resurrection and the panel in New York should also be compared with a predella panel of the Resurrection in the museum at Rouen, there ascribed to Perugino, and by Berenson tentatively to Manni, and also with a predella of the same subject at Munich (no. 1038) attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle (*loc. cit.*) and Morelli (II, p. 108) to Perugino. All these paintings obviously derive from the same design. A reproduction of the example at Rouen is to be found in Camille Enlart's *Rouen*, Paris, 1906, p. 149. Date of the Dijon Resurrection: about 1521. Published with reproduction by Frizzoni, *Intorno a due dipinti di scuole italiane nel Museo di Digione*, in *Rass. d'arte*, 1906, pp. 186-9; and by U. Gnoli, *L'arte italiana in alcune gallerie francesi di provincia*, in *Rass. d'arte*, 1908, pp. 186-9.

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie: The Legend of the Dead King (Fig. 14).<sup>\*</sup> This is one of the most attractive of Bacchiacca's compositions. The subject is taken from the *Gesta Romanorum*. A king had four sons, three of them illegitimate. The kingdom was to be inherited by that one of the sons who should shoot an arrow deepest into his father's dead body. The legitimate son refused to shoot and inherited the kingdom. He is shown in Bacchiacca's picture having thrown away his bow and arrow on the steps of the portico under which stands the king's secretary, who is conducting the trial. The king's body hangs from a tree, and one arrow has already lodged in the breast. The second son is about to shoot. The third is seated at the right holding his bow and arrow. The architecture in the center of the picture is reminiscent of Central Italy, that at the left is distinctly Florentine and reminiscent, like the landscape, of Andrea del Sarto. The color is agreeable, soft, not metallic, as it was to become later; the action is intelligible, the costumes and attitudes of the persons curious and arresting. Date: 1523. Published with reproductions by Schubring, *op. cit.*, no. 80, pl. XII.

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, no. 83: Madonna with the Infant John (Fig. 26). She wears a rose-colored tunic, a blue-green mantle with yellow-green lining, and a very pale violet kerchief on her head and around her shoulders. The background has ruins, two mediaeval towers with an arched bridge, and distant bluish hills. In the three figures at the left are interesting *rappels* of color, rose, green-blue, pale violet. From the Lingner Collection. Late work. Hitherto unpublished.

Florence, Uffizi: Tobias and the Angel.<sup>\*</sup> The head of the archangel is the same as that of the Madonna in the Asolo picture. Also the trees and the landscape are like those in the Asolo picture, and the sky is treated in little longitudinal streaks, in identical manner in each. Date: about 1520. Published with reproduction by C. Gamba, *Quadri nuovamente esposti agli Uffizi*, in *Boll. d'arte*, 1907, I, pp. 20-22.

Florence, Uffizi: Predella with Scenes from the Life of S. Acasio (Figs. 15, 16, and 17).<sup>\*</sup> This saint, rarely represented in art, lived in the time of Emperor Hadrian. Bacchiacca has divided the predella into three parts, with scenes depicting the saint's

baptism, his victory over a rebellion, and his martyrdom. In tonality and color the pedella is much like the Dresden picture. Bacchiacca's interest in fantastic costume had full play here. Date: about 1525. Hitherto not reproduced.

Florence, Pitti: Bust of the Magdalen (Fig. 21).<sup>\*</sup> The picture is somewhat marred by too much cleaning and is rather harsh in its reds and greens; but the lady is attractive in a minx-like way. Hitherto not reproduced.

Florence, Corsini Gallery: Portrait of a Man (Fig. 24).<sup>\*</sup> On the base of the bronze statuette of the Spinario which stands on the table beside the man we read KAL DECEMB M D X L. In his hand he holds the papal seal of Clement VII. It is not surprising that this portrait is often taken for a Bronzino, meticulous and smooth as it is in brush work, grave and aristocratic in mood. The accessories also are such as Bronzino would have introduced. Nevertheless, the landscape and the flesh tones are not his, and the more one studies the picture the more dissimilarities one sees with his work. It is typically Florentine and we know its date. A process of elimination leaves Bacchiacca as the only person who could have painted it; nor is there anything in its style which radically contradicts this assumption. Dated: 1540. Published with reproduction by Schulze as a Bronzino in the monograph on that artist (Strassburg, 1911).

Florence, Ex-Bardini Collection: Story of Moses and the Manna. This is very similar in feeling to Prince Giovanelli's picture. The woman seated at the right should be compared with the Magdalen in the Pitti. Date: about 1545-55. Published with reproduction by Schubring, *Cassoni*, no. 826, pl. CLXXV. See also Bardini Auction Catalogue, no. 64.

Florence, Collection of Count Serristori: Madonna with St. Elizabeth and the Infant St. John.<sup>\*</sup> This is very close to the Asolo Madonna except for the St. Elizabeth. It appears to come after that one in point of date. Published with reproduction by Poggi in *Monatshefte*, 1908, pp. 275 f.

Florence, Private Possession: Madonna with St. Elizabeth and the Infant St. John. This is a repetition of Count Serristori's picture, varying only in the small background figures, but not so good in quality. First attributed and reproduced by Poggi, *loc. cit.*

Florence, Collection of Count Niccolini: Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John.<sup>\*</sup> This picture is reminiscent of the Serristori Madonna but is more metallic in surface and different in landscape. The little St. John is reading a scroll, on which is written ECCE AGNUS DEI. The style is primarily under the influence of Raphael. Points of comparison are offered by the Madonna formerly in the Doetsch Collection in London and by the Madonna in Wiesbaden. Published with reproduction by Poggi, *loc. cit.*

Leningrad, Countess Shuvaloff Collection: Madonna. This Madonna is seated on a wooden bench in front of a parapet. The Child stands on her knee with one arm around her neck. Behind is a soft *sfumato* landscape. This is one of the most intimate and charming of the creations of Bacchiacca's early period. The color scheme, as reported





FIG. 18—Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum: *Portrait of a Lady*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 19—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: *Portrait of Lady with a Cat*, by Bacchiacca

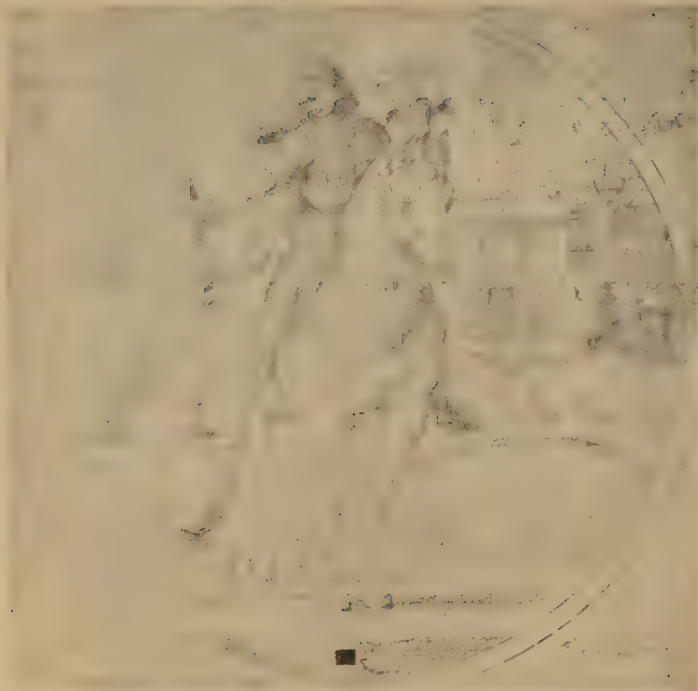


FIG. 20—London, British Museum: *Mucius Scaevola*,  
by Bacchiacca



FIG. 21—Florence, Pitti: *Bust of the  
Magdalen*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 22—Florence, Galleria degli Arazzi: *Tapestry Woven by Rost on Bacchiacca's Design  
The Months of the Year: December, January, and February*



by Lazareff, is curiously piquant. The throne and parapet are gray; the distant hills are blue; the Madonna's dress is ruby-red, with a blue-green (shading to dark green) mantle worn over it; her turban is rose. The authorship is seen, even from a reproduction, to be *bors de doute*. The somewhat consciously mysterious and intimate expression of the Madonna, her Peruginesque pose—while the Christ is taken from Andrea—would alone reveal the work of Bacchiacca, without its being necessary to note the long sleeves, the Madonna's pointed thumb, and other minutiae of the kind, all of a thoroughly Bacchiaccesque nature. The architectural mouldings are of extreme cinquecento purity, like those in Mr. White's *desco*. Published with reproduction by V. Lazareff, *Una Madonna del Bacchiacca* in *L'arte*, 1923, pp. 86 f.

Locko Park, Derbyshire, Collection of Mr. Drury Lowe: Bust of Christ Carrying the Cross.\* Date: about 1520. Published with reproduction by A. Cameron Taylor in *The Connoisseur*, Oct., 1903, p. 89. The attribution was first made by Dr. Richter.

London, National Gallery: Marcus Curtius.\* An effeminate young man on horse-back is about to plunge a dagger into some flames which rise from the ground. There is a town on a distant hill at the left. The painting is probably a side panel for a *cassone*. Date: about 1523. Published with reproduction by Frizzoni in *Archiv. stor. del l'arte*, 1895, p. 100; also by Schubring, *Cassoni*, no. 827, pl. CLXXV.

London, National Gallery, no. 1218: Story from the Life of Joseph (Fig. 12).\* This and the following are strongly influenced by Andrea del Sarto's two pictures representing stories from the life of Joseph, now in the Pitti. The scenes represented are, at the left, the envoy of Joseph conducting the young Benjamin and, at the right, Benjamin and his brothers at the feet of Joseph. Two drawings in black and white chalk in the Louvre (nos. 352 and 353) served as cartoons for this picture. In the Uffizi (no. 350) is a sketch for the figure of Judah; in the Albertina are two further preparatory studies of youths in red chalk, one with a cloak and wide hat and one with a staff in his hands. Date: about 1523. Hitherto not reproduced. Drawings published by Berenson, *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, nos. 186, 187, 189; photographed by Giraudon, nos. 374, 375. Also see Albertina publication, pl. 71.

London, National Gallery, no. 1219: Story from the Life of Joseph (Fig. 13).\* The scenes represent the return of the brethren with gifts and the little Benjamin, their reception by Joseph, and their departure. The building in the center is similar to the one in the Dresden picture (Fig. 14). A cartoon for Joseph carried by his brethren on a donkey exists at Christ Church. Date: about 1523. Hitherto not reproduced. Drawing published by Berenson, *op. cit.*, no. 185.

London, Ex-Butler Collection: Portrait of a Young Man (Fig. 8).\* The young man sits on a parapet holding a lute and facing three-quarters to the right. On the right is an hourglass. At the left in the landscape background, between two trees, is a Triumph of Love. In the middle distance at the right are Apollo and Daphne; Daphne is changing into a three-branched laurel. With his melancholy expression, the young man por-

trayed recalls the young men of Franciabigio, but the whole picture is more meticulous, less masterly, and has more detail, which is, however, charming and suggestive of the sitter's temperament and circumstances. Date: about 1522. Hitherto not reproduced.

London, Collection of Mr. F. A. White: Birth Plate with Crystal-gazing Scene (Figs. 5 and 6).<sup>\*</sup> This is, as Dr. Borenus has pointed out, unique in subject in the whole series of *deschi*, from the 1428 plate owned by the Historical Society, New York, to the Pontormo in the Uffizi, of about 1530.<sup>24</sup> The very decorative reverse of the birth plate has in its center the conjoined arms of the Carducci and Giudetti. Date: probably about 1520. Published with reproduction by T. Borenus in *The Burlington Magazine*, March, 1922.

London, at Mr. Saunders' (formerly): Baptism (Fig. 10). Many of the *motifs* in this picture are taken from the Berlin Baptism (Fig. 7). Such, for instance, are the two seated figures and the child in the right foreground, the girl standing and the rather affected child sitting by her, the Christ, the Baptist, the two angels kneeling by the stream, and the group of figures standing behind the mound in the right middle distance, except that the middle figure in the Berlin group has been omitted and a child looking up added at the left of the mound. The group of men behind the kneeling angels is an abridged version of the corresponding group in the Berlin picture. The landscape, though in the same mood, is different in detail. Date: about 1523. Hitherto not published.

London, Doetsch Collection (formerly): Madonna with the Infant St. John. This picture, like that at Wiesbaden, is based on the composition of the Madonna del divino amore, now in the Naples Museum. Published with reproduction by Poggi in *Monatshefte*, 1908, pp. 275 f. See also *Catalogue of Collection of Pictures of Old Masters of O. Doetsch, Esqre.*, London, 1895, no. 109, p. 32.

New York, Ehrich Galleries (formerly in the Heilbuth Collection, Copenhagen): Madonna (Fig. 27).<sup>\*</sup> The influence evident in the work is primarily that of Michelangelo. The Virgin wears a mantle of yellow-green, deepening to blue-green, over a rose-colored tunic. Over her head is a violet-brown kerchief. The landscape is greenish-blue with brown rocks. One is reminded in this panel how even a minor Florentine could assume with ease something of the "grand air." Late work. Reproduced in color on the cover of the *International Studio*, December, 1925.

New York, Fearon Galleries (Fig. 30): Virgin and Child with the Infant St. John. This painting, very Raphaelesque, is probably based on a lost composition by that master. It was first attributed to Bacchiacca by Mr. Richard Offner. It is impossible to fix its date with the precision one would desire, since we know nothing of any rela-

24. F. M. Clapp, *op. cit.*, pl. 114.





FIG. 23—Rome, Collection of Miss Hertz: *The Magdalen*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 24—Florence, Corsini Gallery: *Portrait of a Man*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 25—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: *Decapitation of John the Baptist*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 26—Dresden, Gemäldegalerie: *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*, by Bacchiacca



tions between Bacchiacca and Raphael, but it is not likely to be anterior to 1515. Other Raphaelesque compositions are the Madonna formerly in the Doetsch Collection, the Madonna at Wiesbaden, and the Madonna belonging to Count Niccolini, in Florence. None of them, however, are so fine or so purely Raphaelesque as this one. All of them are certainly subsequent in date. Mr. Offner points out the resemblances between the Virgin at the Fearon Galleries and a woman standing at the left in the Budapest Preaching of John the Baptist; between the Infant John and the putto at the left below St. John in the same picture; between the Christ and the putto at the extreme left of the Budapest picture; and between the little St. John and the St. John in the Cook Madonna. Published with reproduction by R. Offner in a pamphlet privately printed for the Fearon Galleries: *Bacchiacca 1494-1557. The Blessed Virgin, Christ, and Infant Baptist. A Study.* New York, January, 1925.

Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection: Adam and Eve.\* This picture was formerly in the Frizzoni Collection in Milan. Morelli was the first to point out that the composition is adapted from the drawing by Perugino in Venice for his Apollo and Marsyas in the Louvre. The Apollo has been transformed into Eve, the Marsyas into Adam. Date: about 1520. Morelli, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101 f., publishes this painting with a reproduction and also a reproduction of Perugino's drawing. Also published with reproduction by Berenson, *Catalogue of the John G. Johnson Collection*, I.

Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: Crucifixion (Fig. 9).\* Date: about 1525. Published by Borenius, in *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, I, no. 39.

Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: Holy Family with St. John (Fig. 29).\* Late work. Published by Morelli, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 101 f., and in *A Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond*, I, no. 40.

Rome, Borghese Gallery, nos. 425, 426, 440, 442, 463: Stories from the Life of Joseph.\* Several of the figures in the London panels reappear in these. Apparently also the model for the angel in the Uffizi Tobias and for the central figure in no. 426 was the same. In the Louvre is a drawing (*no. d'ordre* 9874) which served as the cartoon for no. 440, the finding of the cup in Benjamin's sack. It is in bistre and white. A drawing in the Uffizi (*no. 350 bis*) of an elderly man supporting a child astride a sack served for the Benjamin in this picture, and on the same sheet another child served for Benjamin in no. 442, where Joseph's brethren are finding their money in their sacks. Date: about 1523. Photographs by Anderson, nos. 3259-3263. Drawings published by Berenson, *Drawings . . .*, nos. 182, 188, where all the above-mentioned drawings are discussed.

Rome, Hertz Collection: Bust of the Magdalen (Fig. 23).\* This is presumably the picture referred to by Crowe and Cavalcaselle as being in their day in the Hamilton Palace near Glasgow, which subsequently passed to the Butler Collection and was sold by Messrs. Sully in 1911. Crowe and Cavalcaselle call it "a slovenly thing by Bac-

chiacca."<sup>25</sup> It is a distinctly minor work but is not without a certain wistful charm. The Magdalen holds in her hand a vase with flowers similar to those in the Gardner portrait. Late work. Hitherto not reproduced.

Venice, Seminario: Deposition (Fig. 11). This is practically nothing more than a variation in Bacchiacca's new manner of the Bassano Deposition (Fig. 2). Five figures have been substituted for eight, as spectators of the scene, and they have become Andreëskue. The running angels in the sky have disappeared. Date: about 1525. Hitherto unpublished.

Venice, Collection of Prince Giovanelli: Moses Striking the Rock.\* In the center Moses with the staff kneels before a rock, from which water gushes. The numerous spectators are accompanied by animals of every description: lynx, cats, deer, parrots, goats, oxen, etc. This work is usually regarded as Bacchiacca's masterpiece. In the number of carefully executed figures and in the rendering of animals and other details it corresponds with Vasari's description of the artist's style, and these were the reasons for which Vasari praised him. In artistic value, however, I do not see that it can compare with such a work as the Gardner portrait. The Giovanelli picture, no doubt because of its detail and finish, long passed as a work by Dürer. Before that, however, it was considered an Andrea del Sarto and so appears in an inventory of 1723. Date: perhaps about 1530. Published with reproduction by N. Barbantini, *La Quadreria Giovanelli*, in *Emporium*, 1908, pp. 183-205. Photographed by Naya, no. 990.

Wiesbaden, Nassauischer Kunstverein 114: Madonna with the Infant St. John (Fig. 28).\* Except for the landscape, this is practically a reproduction of the Doetsch picture. Both are derived from the Madonna del divino amore, now in the Naples Museum. Berenson has suggested that one of the four putti in a drawing at Christ Church, Oxford, may have served for the St. John in the Wiesbaden picture. Hitherto not reproduced. Drawing published by Berenson, *op. cit.*, no. 184.

The following paintings are listed by Berenson as works by Bacchiacca. I have no first-hand knowledge of them.

Brocklesby, Collection of the Earl of Yarborough: Madonna and St. Anne.

Cassel, Museum, no. 484: Old Man Seated.

Florence, Corsini Gallery, no. 164: Madonna.

Florence, Uffizi, no. 87: Descent from the Cross.

Milan, Ex-Crespi Collection: Adoration of the Magi. I do not discern Bacchiacca's hand from a study of the photograph; but in the case of so imitative an artist it would be impossible to pass definite judgment without seeing the original. As Berenson has pointed out, the painter has here used a cartoon of Fra Bartolommeo's. Drawing published by Berenson, *op. cit.*, no. 235. Photograph of the painting by Anderson, no. 3481. Photograph of the drawing by Brogi, no. 1972.

25. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *op. cit.*, III, p. 513.





FIG. 27—New York, Ebrich Galleries: *Madonna and Child*,  
by Bacchiacca



FIG. 28—Wiesbaden Nassauischer Kunstverein: *Madonna  
and Child with the Infant St. John*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 29—Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: *Holy Family*, by Bacchiacca



FIG. 30—New York, Fearon Galleries: *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*, by Bacchiacca



Munich, Altes Pinakothek, no. 1077: Madonna and Infant John.

Oxford, Christ Church, no. 55: *Noli me tangere*.

Oxford, Christ Church, no. 57: *The Raising of Lazarus*. These two pictures at Oxford were first attributed by Morelli (I, p. 101 f.) and are described by him as belonging to Bacchiacca's Peruginesque period.

Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: *Last Supper* (Fig. 31). In the Doughty House Catalogue (no. 41, no reproduction) Borenius accepts this work as a Bacchiacca, but Sir Herbert Cook adds a note to the effect that he is not satisfied that the panel is by the master. The Catalogue points out that the picture is a copy with some variations of the engraving by Marcantonio (B 26):

Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: Two grisailles depicting Apollo and Cupid, and Apollo and Daphne. In the Doughty House Catalogue (no reproduction), nos. 33 and 34, they are ascribed by Borenius to a "more slavish follower of Andrea del Sarto" than Bacchiacca.

Rome, Borghese, no. 338: Madonna.

Troyes, Museum: Tobias and the Angel.

Venice, Seminario, no. 23: Madonna.

Schubring<sup>26</sup> mentions an Apollo and Marsyas, the inside of a spinet cover in the Litta Collection in Milan.

Two paintings, knowledge of which I owe to Mr. Berenson (they are not published in his list), I have not been able to trace. One is a Baptism formerly in the possession of Signor Enrico Costa, the other, a beautiful portrait of a girl with a lute, once in the Sanderson Collection in Edinburgh and in 1911 in the possession of the New York dealer V. Fisher.

I have mentioned drawings which served Bacchiacca as cartoons for certain of his paintings. The masterpiece of them remains to be noticed. It is a circular composition with Mucius Scaevola for subject and is in the British Museum (Fig. 20).<sup>27</sup> In an Andreësqe landscape we see a knight in armor on a plumed horse. He looks down to his right, and in the flame springing from an altar he holds his hand, which grasps an upright sword. It is an exquisite drawing both from the point of view of composition and as a romantic illustration of an antique theme. It must date from about 1525-35. The painting for which it served is no longer extant.<sup>28</sup>

Other paintings which have perished are the frescoes mentioned by Vasari as having been executed in coöperation with Bronzino and others in the courtyard of the Medici Palace on the occasion of the entry of Eleanora of Toledo into Florence,<sup>29</sup> as well as two pictures that Vasari tells us were executed for the poet Landi's dramatic represen-

26. Schubring, *op. cit.*, no. 830.

27. Published with reproduction by Berenson in his *Drawings of the Florentine Painters*, no. 183.

28. Berenson, *op. cit.*, no. 180, also lists a drawing of a Wheel of Fortune in the Uffizi, no. 225, cornice 171.

29. Vasari, *Lives*, ed. Foster, IV, p. 206-7 (biography of Tribolo).



FIG. 31—*Richmond, Collection of Sir Herbert Cook: Last Supper, by Bacchiacca*



FIG. 32—*Budapest, Museum: Preaching of St. John the Baptist, by Bacchiacca*



tation in honor of the marriage of Duke Cosimo. The latter pictures represented the journey of Lorenzo the Magnificent to Naples and the return from exile of Cosimo il Vecchio.<sup>30</sup> Naturally, also those paintings that Bacchiacca is said to have executed on the temporarily erected arches used at public rejoicings have disappeared.<sup>31</sup>

30. *Ibid.*, p. 480 (biography of Aristotele da San Gallo).

31. Since writing this paper the catalogue of an exhibition of Old Masters held at the Städelinstitut in Frankfort last summer (1925) has come to hand. No. 3 in this catalogue is ascribed to Bacchiacca. The subject

represented is Tobias and the Angel. The owner is Herr Eugen Rieffel-Miller of Frankfort. (See *Vorläufiges Verzeichniss der Ausstellung von Meisterwerken Alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz im Städelischen Kunstinstitut*, Frankfurt a.M., 1925, p. 7. No reproduction.)



FIG. 1

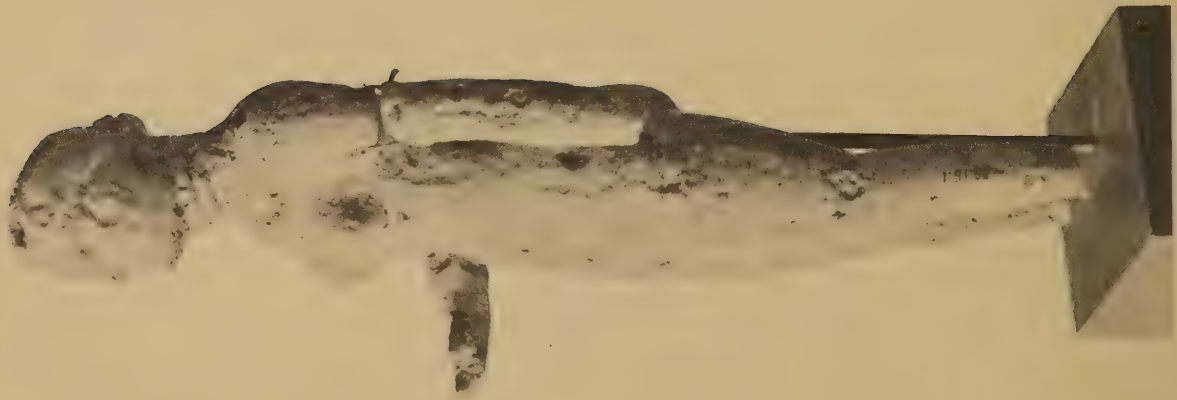


FIG. 2

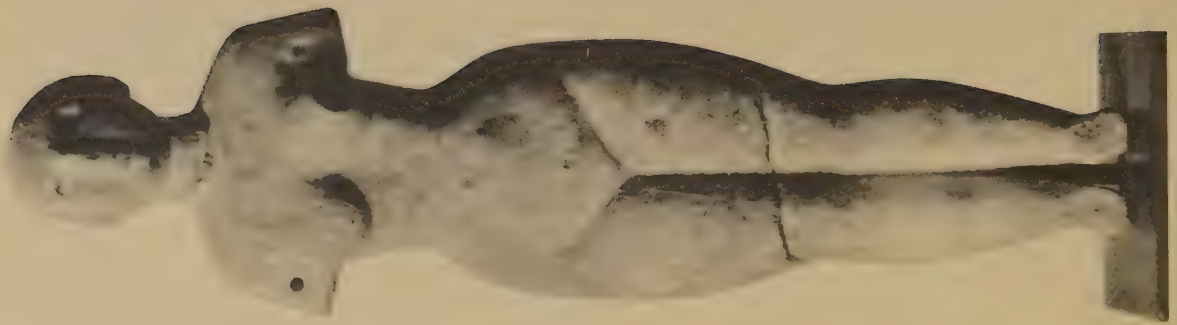


FIG. 3

*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Two Parthian Statuettes. Alabaster*



# SEVEN PARTHIAN STATUETTES

By HANS HENNING VON DER OSTEN

THE rarity of works of art of Parthian origin gives a certain interest to objects even of minor importance, and justifies a description of seven Parthian statuettes which I have identified in American collections.<sup>1</sup> Four belong to the Metropolitan Museum of Art; they were acquired by Mr. W. H. Ward when he was in Mesopotamia with the Wolfe expedition, 1884-1885. Another belongs to Mrs. R. M. Riefstahl, New York. The last two, which are of bronze, are owned by Mr. E. T. Newell, New York. Like the preceding one they were bought from Mesopotamian dealers.

The character of Parthian art was determined by Parthian history. The conquest of the Near East by Alexander and his followers was a cultural as well as a political conquest, but the Hellenistic culture which it introduced into the provinces of the Persian Empire was there inevitably looked upon as something quite as foreign as the Greeks that brought it. The Seleucids who undertook the rule of Mesopotamia and Persia were unable to stay the reaction against Hellenism. Their position was made more difficult by the weakness of their frontier toward the northern steppes east of the Caspian Sea. This boundary of the Achaemenid Empire had never been stable,<sup>2</sup> and when the Seleucids with their greater interest in the western part of their empire neglected it, they soon lost it. First Bactria, the very northeastern part of their empire, fell away. Then the Arsacid dynasty, a chief family of the Parni tribe which had invaded from the north, formed a new empire out of Iran and part of Mesopotamia, which we know as the Parthian empire. The Arsacids were invaders as foreign as the Greeks and, in fact, as their coins show,<sup>3</sup> styled themselves friends of the Hellenes (cf. the coin of Arsaces XIV, i. e., Orodes I, used as cover design of this magazine), for they relied on the Greek element in the population for their support. On the other hand, they sought to claim also the right of legitimate succession to the Achaemenid King of Kings. This lack of a strong inheritance and this attempt to combine Greek and Persian elements is as true of Parthian art as it is of Parthian power.

Our material for the study of Parthian art is scanty, for the expeditions and excavations undertaken in Mesopotamia and Persia have been directed toward the study of periods other than the Parthian. We have, however, various objects from Parthian

1. I am indebted to Miss G. M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum, to Mrs. R. M. Riefstahl, and to Mr. E. T. Newell for permission to publish these statuettes, also to Dr. E. Rose of New York University for aid in the preparation of the article.

2. The unsuccessful expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetae about 528 B. C., like that of Darius in 512 B. C. attempted apparently to take the nomads in the rear and thus reduce them to quiescence.

3. For Achaemenid and Parthian coins see F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persiens*.

burial places,<sup>4</sup> including such statuettes as those I shall describe, and we have a very valuable series of coins which furnish a reliable relative chronology and show that the Hellenistic influence which was dominant at the beginning of the Parthian period declined as the period advanced. From the coins we can therefore infer that an object with strong Hellenistic influence falls early and one with less falls later. The decline of Hellenism in Parthian art resulted in a kind of barbarization rather than in the rise of a new style. On the other hand, under the Sassanids, a dynasty with genuine Persian inheritance, a new style arose productive of magnificent rock reliefs, silver vessels, and textiles, all characterized by a feeble Hellenistic tradition made over into a vigorous oriental style. Parthian art was moribund. Sassanian art was rude but enterprising.

Of the statuettes here under discussion it is probable that all excepting possibly the bronze ones came from graves. Such funereal Parthian statuettes regularly represent women standing or reclining, clothed or nude. I shall describe the figurines individually.

The standing nude female statuette in the Metropolitan Museum illustrated in Figs. 1 and 2 is, like the three other statuettes in the Metropolitan Museum, of alabaster and its surface has therefore been readily subject to damage. On the whole, it shows in spite of its stiffness a fairly successful attempt to imitate Hellenistic models. Not many details are worked out with care. The hair appears to be combed back and tied in a knot on the back of the head; the eyes, which are now indicated by mere holes, were probably once filled with asphalt.<sup>5</sup> The torso is well formed and some details such as the wrinkles of flesh on the neck and at the waist are indicated. The legs are tightly pressed together, the feet broken off. The most interesting thing about the statuette is the treatment of the arms. The top of the upper arm rests close to the body. It is perforated and to it is attached the remainder of the arm by a string. The figure extends its right hand, bending the attached portion of the arm at the elbow, while the left arm hangs down at the side. The right hand seems to have been open, with the palm upward, presumably holding an attribute, but the left hand is broken away. The statuette in the same collection illustrated in Fig. 3 is analogous but the body is heavier and cruder, more gross, and the movable part of the arm is missing. The shape of the head suggests that an asphalt wig is also missing.<sup>6</sup>

The peculiar movable arms on these statuettes have not been satisfactorily explained, though a number of similar pieces have been found in Parthian graves.<sup>7</sup> Koldewey suggests that they may have been originally dressed in diminutive garments, but this does not necessarily account for the arms. It is likewise hard to say what the little figures represent. They seem to be more than dolls. The heavy jewelry worn by some of

4. R. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, pp. 213 ff., 271 ff. M. Pillet, *L'expédition de Mésopotamie et de Médie*.

5. Koldewey, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Pillet, *op. cit.*, pls. XIX, XXV, and Koldewey, *op. cit.*, pp. 271 ff.



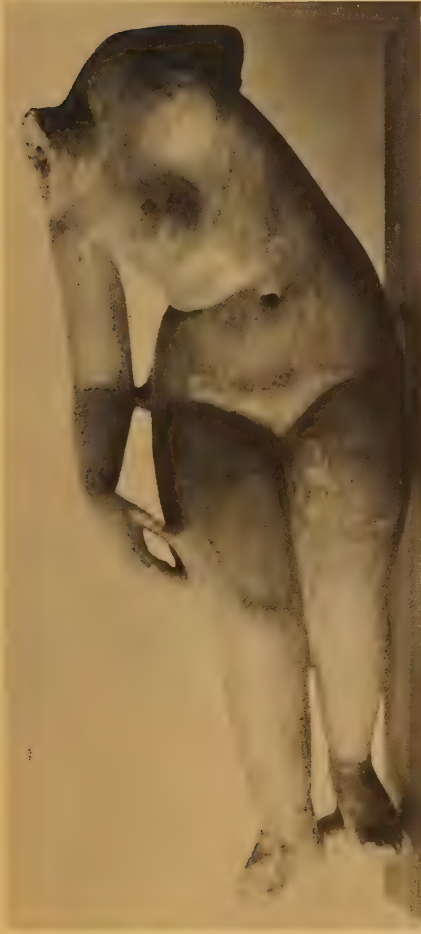


FIG. 4

*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Parthian Statuette. Alabaster*

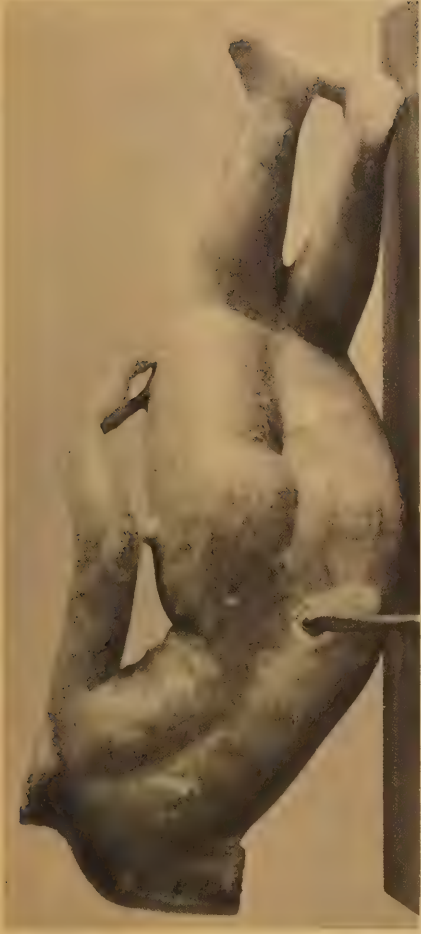


FIG. 5

*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Parthian Statuette. Alabaster*



FIG. 6—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Parthian Statuette. Alabaster*



FIG. 7—*New York, Possession of Mrs. R. M. Riefstahl: Parthian Statuette. Terra cotta*



FIG. 8

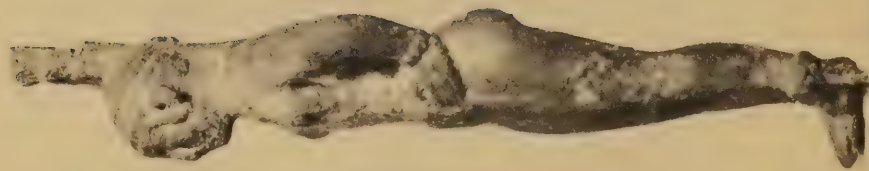


FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11

*New York, Possession of Mr. E. T. Newell: Two Parthian Statuettes and Base found with the one shown in Figs. 8 and 9. Bronze*



them might be interpreted as an indication that they represent Anahita. On the other hand, the occasional representation of nude female figures in a more dancing attitude on the Parthian earthen coffins makes it possible that we have in these figures nothing more than dancers.<sup>8</sup>

The reclining nude woman represented in Figs. 4 and 5 is practically standard for one type of Parthian funereal statuette. The head and left arm have been broken off but otherwise it is in excellent preservation. The attitude is unquestionably of Hellenistic inspiration, with the upper part of the body supported on one arm and the other arm resting easily on the hip. The stoutness of the figure reflects oriental taste.

The statuette illustrated in Fig. 6 is similar but of very rough workmanship and lifeless. This figure when compared with the preceding shows clearly the gradual degeneration of Parthian art as Hellenistic traditions became more distant and were not replaced by native ones, as they were in Sassanian art.

Mrs. Riefstahl's statuette (Fig. 7) is of interest for the Parthian costume. The coiffure is elaborate. There is a loose upper garment, apparently decorated, and below it appear the characteristic wide trousers of the Iranians. The figure rests on a carpet or mat, the pattern of which consists of wide stripes with leaf motives bounded by bordering lines. In contrast to the costume the attitude is entirely Hellenistic. It is the same as that of the preceding figures. The arm on which the figure rests is bent upward from the elbow and holds a drinking vessel. This terra cotta statuette was made with the help of a mould, the back being neglected in the execution.

The two bronze statuettes (Figs. 8, 9, 10, and 11) represent a more unusual type. In fact, I know of but two published examples like them, one published by Sarre, the other by Strzygowski.<sup>9</sup> Of Mr. Newell's examples, the one illustrated in Figs. 8 and 9 stands in a strictly symmetrical attitude with her hands on her hips. The features are rounding and large, including the ears. The hair is dressed in four superposed rows; curls fall before the ears. A clasp decorated with a rosette binds the hair at the back of the head and a second rectangular clasp holds the end of the braid which falls halfway down the back. Above the former clasp rises a high protuberance from the back of the head of uncertain shape and meaning. The figure wears heavy bracelets and anklets and a large loose-fitting collar or necklace. The modeling, somewhat concealed by the heavy patina, was not very detailed. The broken left foot may be either the cause or the result of the modern bronze pin inserted in it and projecting below. Either the pin was intended to help hold together the foot already broken or—more probably—the foot was broken by the insertion of the pin to attach the figurine to a basis said to have been found with it. The basis has a modern hole on top corresponding to the pin. This solid bronze basis has a patina like that of the statuette; it is square in plan

8. Sarre, *op. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*, fig. 7. Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier*, p. 638.

with a deep cavetto on all four sides and a shallow rudimentary egg-and-dart along the upper and lower edges (Fig. 9).

The other bronze belonging to Mr. Newell (Figs. 10 and 11) stands with the left hand resting on the hip, but with the right extended and holding an object which is broken off above and below and cannot be identified. It also wears a collar, above which the wrinkles of flesh on the neck are conspicuous. Some of the filling, presumably asphalt, in the little perforations of the pupils still remains. The hairdress is somewhat simpler than in the preceding bronze. A single fillet encircles the head, curls fall before the ears, and a braid held at the top by a circular clasp and at the end by a rectangular one beyond which the hair is spread out fanlike, falls halfway down the back. The figure has undergone cleaning, to which its different appearance from the preceding is largely attributable.

The bronze statuette of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum published by Sarre is of analogous character and workmanship, though the position, with hands folded under the breasts, is different, and the greater conventionalization presumably indicates a later date. A closer parallel is offered by the bronze statuette published by Strzygowski. The headdress helps to identify this statuette as Parthian. It is a cap divided in the middle, and, although Strzygowski compares it to the headdress of a Byzantine empress, it is of a type found among Parthian burial figurines of terra cotta. In addition to a protuberance above the head, the statuette stands on a little pedestal ending in a dull point, and so does the Berlin statuette.

The Newell statuettes are comparable also to the standing figurines at the Metropolitan Museum. The different examples have enough in common to show that Parthian art had a definitely marked character. Although uninventive and unrefined, it was expressive of the half-Hellenistic, half-oriental ideals of the people that produced it, as well as of their relatively low plane of artistic culture.



## REVIEWS

SARDIS. VOLUME II: ARCHITECTURE. PART I: THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS. By *Howard Crosby Butler*. 4to; xiv, 146 pp.; 135 illustrations; 3 pls. With Atlas, large folio, of 19 pls. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1926. \$25.00.

It is seldom that there appears a book of so much moment for the history of ancient architecture as this publication of the great Artemis temple at Sardis in Asia Minor. It is not that a magnificent Ionic building rises again before our eyes—almost nothing of the entablature was found, and a restoration of the temple as a whole cannot be ventured even on paper. Part of the wall base, a few columns, and much of the foundations are all that came to light; so that, as a site to visit and a spectacle to behold, the Sardis temple falls short of the Didymaion near Miletos and many of the Doric ruins in mainland Greece and the West. But it gains importance as it lies between the covers of Butler's magnificent book, enriched by description, observation, and comparison; for Butler was one of the few archaeologists with an adequate realization that a great ancient temple is a thing of the centuries, full of the changes and vicissitudes of the Greek and Roman generations. The whole history of Ionic architecture has left its mark upon the temple of Artemis, from the days of Croesus to the rule of the Antonines. It would have been of very uncertain value to have published the column bases and the capitals of such a building with the mere label "Temple of Artemis at Sardis" (though many publications of architectural antiquities in Ionia have scarcely been more discriminating or circumspect). At least four kinds of bases and three kinds of capitals came to light; and though all were used and even coexisted in the same structure, they must ultimately have dated from different, and perhaps widely different, periods. In 600 years much may happen to a building that is within the ambition but beyond the resources of an ancient community; and Butler must have realized very early that the only clue to its variety was a methodical and accurate knowledge of the whole evolution of the Ionic style. This knowledge he gradually accumulated, and it is his presentation and use of it that transforms his book from the usual publication of a successful "dig" to a source book and treatise which no serious student of ancient architecture can neglect.

There is, I should judge, no more slighted study than this of the evolution of architectural style. Its fundamental laws are largely mysterious, its forces and powers still obscure. Broadly, we are all aware that there has been a trend from megalithic to microlithic, from an awe at materials to a contempt for them, from an emphasis on the mechanical exigencies (as in early Doric, Etruscan, Romanesque) to an exploitation of mechanical mastery and technical agility (as in late Greek, Imperial Roman, Perpendicular Gothic). Or again, most elements have originated for structural reasons and, when this reason no longer exists, have become relegated to the rôle of decoration (as

the detail of timberwork became the adornment of the Greek orders and, later, the Greek orders themselves became the ornament of the Roman arch and vault). And we have all observed how naturalistic detail becomes conventionalized, geometrized, and finally traditionalized into an abstract device without further meaning than that of use and custom (as the naturalistic Egyptian leaf-and-flower designs became the egg-and-dart or Lesbian leaf of Greek mouldings, or the fresh Greek acanthus became the strange creature of mediaeval usage). But these are all only scattered generalities and give small understanding of the detailed mechanism of architectural evolution. And it is here that Butler's illustrative diagrams and compilations may serve as a basis.

From the start, it is indisputable that the general trend of Ionic architecture is a connected and coherent drift, and that we are right in speaking of its *evolution* and not merely of its *history*. If the Ionic monuments of Asia Minor are arranged in chronological order, their specific features will evolve in correct sequence; and, conversely, if the monuments are arranged on the basis of some detail of style and its development, the list will (with a few exceptions) fall in correct chronological order. Underlying the whims and wishes of the various individual architects lies an evolutionary trend, whose general course can be discerned from Butler's study and may be thus summarized for the Ionic style of Asia Minor:

(1) Column bases tend to become lower (mainly by a diminution of the torus) and to intensify the projection of their profile.

(2) Column shafts tend to become slenderer in relation to their height, but thicker in relation to the column interval or spacing.

(3) Flutings decrease in number, arrises lose their sharpness and grow flat and broad, the apophyge atrophies.

(4) Column capitals shrink in height, the shaft pushing the echinus upward into the canal or volute band, while the eyes of the volutes move closer together, bringing the volutes more directly over the edge of the shaft.

(On the evolution of the entablature we have unfortunately no light from Sardis, since almost nothing belonging above the capitals was discovered.)

If we wish to penetrate to the reason for such an organic process of growth and change, we shall have to discover it for ourselves: Butler has wisely been content with the mere exposition of data and fact. His presentation takes the form of tables of measurements made vivid by comparative diagrams. Such, for example, is his illuminating illustration of twenty Ionic capitals from as many different monuments, shown in cross section, reduced to common scale, and printed together on a single plate. In consequence of such a method, induced by the necessity of disentangling the complicated chronology of the Sardis temple, Butler furnishes a wealth of comparative material which puts the study of the Ionic architecture of Asia Minor upon a new plane and may serve to transform it from a descriptive corpus of fragments, collected for admiration or emulation, into a reasoned and orderly pursuit, amenable to a more



strictly intelligent method. It removes it from the realm of the collector and imitator to the workshop of the scientific historian and (*absit omen*) the philosopher.

I have emphasized the aspect which seems to me to give the book its unusual importance. But any notice would be wholly inadequate which did not draw attention to the exhaustive care with which the actual remains of the Sardis temple have been published. Nothing has been omitted which photography or draftsmanship could supply. The plates of the atlas constitute one of the few adequate publications of Ionic capitals in all their details. I know of no other book upon a specific monument of Ionic architecture where the student can ask so few questions of fact (however minute) without finding an exact answer somewhere between its covers.

It would be unfair to call attention to a very few errors and some typographical slips. It is difficult enough to publish, through the press of a non-English-speaking land, a posthumous work from a manuscript not completely verified by its author; and we have only praise for Mr. Theodore Leslie Shear for his success in editing so distinguished and so handsome a volume.

RHYS CARPENTER

CATALOGUE OF A LOAN EXHIBITION OF EARLY ORIENTAL CARPETS. *By Arthur Upham Pope.* 122 pp.; 48 pls. *Chicago, The Art Club of Chicago, 1926.*

THE general understanding of artistic qualities in Mohammedan art, and particularly in rugs, is despite visible progress during recent years still far from satisfactory. This is due partly to wrong or narrow aesthetic education. The beauty of oriental art is unlike that of classic or modern art. As not so long ago mediaeval art was considered inferior because different, so Mohammedan art suffers injustice now among the uninitiated. There is much to be taught before the public can properly appreciate oriental rugs and differentiate the good and bad. And the best way of teaching is to supplement books, reproductions, and lectures with exhibitions of the rugs themselves. It must have been this conviction that encouraged Mr. Pope to assemble the magnificent loan exhibition of oriental rugs which was held at the Art Club of Chicago in January of this year, and the catalogue of which we shall now examine.

In the well written introduction Mr. Pope gives a variety of general comments on oriental rugs and their characteristics. He lays emphasis on the relation of the rugs to the society that produced them and distinguishes between high and low school carpets, that is, the court carpets and the carpets of the common people. Then follows the characterization of Persian, Turkish, and Caucasus carpets, the last of which according to Mr. Pope have been shockingly neglected in the literature of the subject. Next comes a classification by centuries.

Although Mr. Pope expressed in this magazine, Vol. VIII, pp. 43 ff., an unwillingness to accept my dating of one of the Ballard rugs in the fifteenth century, he admits in this catalogue the possibility of dating some of the medallion carpets of Northwest

Persia that early and suggests that the first two carpets in his exhibition may go back to such a date. It is curious, too, that after having criticized me in the magazine article for comparing rugs with Bizhad miniatures Mr. Pope should write of sixteenth century rugs and their characteristics: "With the reviving naturalism of Persian art, which owed a great deal to Bizhad and his followers, the court carpets began to take on a more florid and realistic style so that by the first quarter of the sixteenth century Persian carpets have almost the freedom and resource of painting." Mr. Pope here overemphasizes, I believe, the suddenness of the realism as well as its pictorial freedom. Persian carpets of the first quarter of the sixteenth century are generally of a conspicuous symmetry, with regularly opposed or repeated motives. For the freedom of painting one has to turn to Indian rugs, none of which appear in the catalogue of this exhibition.

In a paragraph on the problem of precise identification Mr. Pope discusses the place of manufacture of the rugs and says that the so-called Vase carpets, the true Shah Abbas palace carpets, were woven in Joshaghan Ghali and its immediate environs, and perhaps the so-called Polonaise carpets also were woven there. He does not give the evidence for this allocation but promises to publish it later. The attribution of the Dragon carpets, formerly erroneously called Armenian, to Eastern Caucasus seems now, thanks to the efforts of Jacoby and of our author, to be definitely established.

The same certainty has not been reached in connection with Mr. Pope's attempted assignment of the Medallion carpets to Karabagh. He vacillates on this point himself and seems inclined to allow Tabriz, to which town these carpets have been commonly assigned, some credit for their production. I believe that Mr. Pope overestimates the importance of the Medallion and Animal carpet no. 3 in his catalogue. Certainly a far finer example is that owned by Mr. George F. Baker and now on loan at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 1). It is enriched with gold and silver threads. The red field is interrupted with medallions and cloud bands. Over the whole ground is dispersed a multitude of foliated naturalistic and semi-naturalistic scrolls with flowers and palmettes in various sizes and colors. Against this scrollwork are seen animals, particularly lions attacking deer. The border is decorated with inscriptions giving snatches from Persian poems. It strikes me as unjustified to attribute such a rug to Karabagh and I believe it was woven at Tabriz, for the court.

The first division of Mr. Pope's catalogue is devoted to carpets from Persia. After discussing the ones from Northwest Persia, the Medallion carpets which have just been mentioned, he turns to those from Kashan and Western Persia. Here again the attributions are hypothetical, but, as Mr. Pope's arguments show, not impossible. He takes as point of departure the great carpet from the Ardebil mosque, part of which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the remainder still in the market. This carpet is dated 1539 and bears the name of the head weaver Maksoud of Kashan. It must not be forgotten, however, that carpets hanging in the Ardebil mosque may have come from elsewhere. Another rug formerly in the Ardebil mosque is now in the Metropolitan





FIG. 1.—New York, Metropolitan Museum: Medallion and Animal Carpet Lent by Mr. George F. Baker. Persian, XVI Century





FIG. 2—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Animal Carpet from the Ardebil Mosque*  
Persian, XVI Century



FIG. 3—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Indian Rug. XVI-XVII Century*



Museum of Art (Fig. 2). It is one of the finest Animal rugs extant. On a claret ground covered with leaves, flowers, and scrolls are sundry animals, notably lions and jackals attacking yellow spotted deer. The border has Chinese cloud bands and arabesques on a dark-blue ground. After taking up the so-called Ispahan carpets from Eastern Persia our author turns to the Vase carpets of Central Persia. He distinguishes several varieties. The rugs with more naturalistic floral motives he considers later and dates in the seventeenth century. Their flowers, however, cannot be called naturalistic when compared with those of contemporary Indian rugs such as the one I illustrate here (Fig. 3). The confident assertion of many old Persian families that these Central Persian Vase carpets were woven at Joshaghan Ghali seems to me to be evidence of too little weight to warrant a change from the old attribution of the Vase carpets to Kerman. A discussion of some of the so-called Polonaise carpets concludes the first division of the catalogue.

The second division deals with the rugs from Eastern Caucasus, a region to which Mr. Pope has plausibly attributed the Dragon carpets, which show highly conventionalized palmettes and animals of Chinese origin in compartments formed by bands and leaves. This and the following divisions in the catalogue are relatively short. The third treats of carpets from Western Asia Minor (Bergamos, Oushaks, etc.); the fourth, of a carpet from Egypt (a Damascus rug); the fifth, of two Spanish carpets; and the sixth, of a modern carpet copying Persian work of the sixteenth century.

I cannot but regret the absence of Indian rugs. For no study of oriental carpets can be complete without them. Mr. Pope seems to underestimate India's contribution to Mohammedan art. Geographically it was impossible for Persia and India not to influence each other. Some of the ornamental motives seen in Persian art already in the Sassanian period were of Indian origin: the lotus flowers on which Sassanian kings stand and the palmette trees at Tak-i-Bostan have their parallels in much earlier monuments of India. At a later date Samarra reveals other Indian motives. Native tradition was strong enough to give to Indian rugs an independent character despite any Persian influence they may display. They show recognizable Indian trees and plants and characteristic palmettes and scrolls unlike those of Persian rugs, and they often possess a pictorial quality of their own that suggests the miniatures of the early Moghul period (Fig. 3).

M. S. DIMAND

# NOTES

## FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

The fifteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association of America was held, in conjunction with the meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Association, and the Linguistic Society of America, at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, December 29-31, 1925.

### PROGRAM

#### TUESDAY, DECEMBER 29

- 2.00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Board in Room 160, Goldwin Smith Hall
- 2.30 P.M. Public Meeting in Room 120, Goldwin Smith Hall, Alfred V. Churchill, Vice-President of the College Art Association, Presiding  
*The contribution of the Barnes Foundation to Education in Modern Art*—ADELINE G. WYKES, Hunter College  
*The Significance of the Paris Exposition for the Teaching of the Fine Arts*—ROGER GILMAN, Rhode Island School of Design  
*A drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo*—ALFRED H. BARR, JR., Princeton University  
*Manet as an Etcher*—DONALD L. FINLAYSON, Wells College
- 4.30-6.00 P.M. Tea in Sage College Drawing Rooms
- 8.00 P.M. Joint Meeting of the College Art Association, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the American Philological Association in Museum of Casts, David M. Robinson, Ex-President of the College Art Association, Presiding  
*The Fall of Aristocracies and the Emancipation of Men's Minds*—W. K. PRENTICE, Princeton University  
*Art and Economics*—H. H. POWERS, President of the Bureau of University Travel  
*The Comic Aspect of the Greek Athletic Meet*—JOSEPH WILLIAM HEWITT, Wesleyan University  
*Some of the Recent Old Roman Monuments on the Viminal and Elsewhere*—ESTHER BOISE VAN DEMAN, Carnegie Institution of Washington
- 9.30 P.M. Smoker in Sage College Drawing Rooms

#### WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 30

- 9.30 A.M. Public Meeting in Room 120, Goldwin Smith Hall, Holmes Smith, Ex-President of the College Art Association, Presiding  
*The Comprehensive Examination in Ancient Art*—GEORGE H. CHASE, Harvard University  
*The Teaching of Ancient Art*—  
DAVID M. ROBINSON, Johns Hopkins University  
RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN, New York University  
RHYS CARPENTER, Bryn Mawr College  
A. D. FRASER, Alfred University  
STEPHEN B. LUCE, Brown University  
J. DONALD YOUNG, Columbia University  
*The Antioch Course in Applied Esthetics*—WALTER H. ABELL, Antioch College



- 2.30 P.M. Public Meeting in Room 120, Goldwin Smith Hall, Alice V. V. Brown, Chairman of the Committee on Standards, Presiding  
*Methods of Teaching Renaissance and Modern Art*—ARTHUR POPE, Harvard University  
*The Function of the Small College in the Development of Artistic Appreciation*—EDWARD W. Root, Hamilton College  
*A Synthetic Course in Renaissance and Modern Art*—ALFRED BARR, Princeton University  
*Discussion of the Above Topics*—  
 ALFRED V. CHURCHILL, Smith College  
 JOHN SHAPLEY, New York University  
 DONALD L. FINLAYSON, Wells College  
 ERNEST T. DEWALD, Princeton University
- 4.30–6.00 P.M. Committee Meetings Called by their Respective Chairmen in Sage College Drawing Rooms
- 7.30 P.M. Banquet of all the Visiting Societies, Risley Hall, Horace L. Jones, Chairman of the Local Committee, Presiding  
*Address of Welcome*—LIVINGSTON FARRAND, President of Cornell University  
*Response*—RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN, President of the Archaeological Institute  
*Survivals of Roman Religion*—GORDON JENNINGS LAING, President of the American Philological Association

## THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

- 9.30 A.M. Public Meeting in Room 120, Goldwin Smith Hall, John Shapley, President of the College Art Association, Presiding  
*Business*  
*The Teaching of the Graphic Arts in Colleges*—GEORGE T. PLOWMAN, Etcher  
*The Restoration of Paintings*—ARTHUR E. BYE, Pennsylvania Museum  
*The Federated Council on Art Education*—HOLMES SMITH, Washington University  
*How to Buy for a Small Museum*—ARTHUR POPE, Harvard University

## MINUTES

On approval of the Auditing Committee, Alfred V. Churchill, Chairman, the following report of the Treasurer for 1925 was received and acceptance voted:

To the President and Members of the College Art Association of America I have the honor of presenting the following report:

When the books of the Association were turned over to me on the first of January, 1925, they showed an outstanding deficit, reported at the last meeting, of \$2,898.96 and a bank balance of \$188.15. For the year beginning January 1 and closing December 31, 1925, I beg to submit the following accounting of cash:

Cash on hand January 1, 1925 . . . . .	\$ 188.15
Income 1925	
Dues . . . . .	\$1283.82
Life Memberships . . . . .	25.50
Sustaining Institutions . . . . .	6500.00
Contributing Institutions . . . . .	1100.00
Miscellaneous . . . . .	33.10
Total Income . . . . .	8942.42
Total Cash . . . . .	9130.57

Expenditure 1925	
Art Bulletin . . . . .	\$7085.24
Secretarial Work . . . . .	233.62
Postage . . . . .	77.95
Miscellaneous . . . . .	236.02
Total Expenditure . . . . .	<u>7632.83</u>
Cash Balance . . . . .	1497.74
Outstanding Deficit, reported last year . . . . .	2898.96

As this accounting of cash does not reveal the true financial condition of the Association, I wish to submit the following supplementary report:

The above statement of income includes, in the case of two institutions, advance payment of their contributions to the Art Bulletin for the next two years as follows:

Hispanic Society of America . . . . .	\$2000.00
Wellesley College . . . . .	200.00
Total Advance Payments . . . . .	<u>2200.00</u>
Cash Balance . . . . .	1497.74
Apparent Deficit . . . . .	<u>702.26</u>

The following amounts, payable to the Association, are outstanding:

Harvard University contribution to Art Bulletin . . . . .	\$ 500.00
Reprints . . . . .	98.50
Dues . . . . .	271.00
Total Outstanding . . . . .	<u>869.50</u>
Apparent Deficit . . . . .	702.26
Balance . . . . .	<u>167.24</u>

Subtracting this theoretical balance from the cash on hand at the beginning of the year, it will be found that the Association came within \$20.91 of striking an exact balance for the year.

Respectfully submitted  
[Signed] J. Donald Young  
Treasurer

Mr. Holmes Smith moved that the Executive Committee consider the advisability of fixing a definite fiscal year closing on November 30 and of having the Auditing Committee audit the books before the Annual Meeting. It was so voted.

Mr. A. Lawrence Kocher, Chairman, reported on behalf of the Committee on Research the recommendation that support be lent for the current year (1925-1926) to the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. The recommendation was voted.

Miss Alice V. V. Brown, Chairman, reported on behalf of the Committee on Standards the progress of plans for the Comprehensive Examinations in the Fine Arts already authorized at the preceding meeting.

Mr. Edwin M. Blake, Chairman, reported on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions a resolution of thanks to Cornell University, to President Livingston Farrand, and to the Local Committee, Horace L. Jones, Chairman. The resolution was adopted and the Secretary directed to send copies to President Farrand and Professor Jones.



The Committee on Resolutions offered the further resolution that the Officers of the College Art Association communicate with the Officers of the American Psychological Association with the object of ascertaining whether it might not be possible to establish some measure of coöperation between the two organizations directed towards the study of those problems of art which would seem to involve psychology. The resolution was adopted.

The Secretary read the proposal to amend the Constitution by dropping *Associate* membership altogether and by changing *Sustaining* to *Annual* membership. The amendment was adopted.

The President told of the anticipated effect on the importation of books of a bill proposed for consideration in Congress and recommended that the Association go on record as opposed to certain sections of the measure. It was accordingly moved and voted that a protest be formulated and forwarded to the American Library Association.

The following report of the Committee on Nominations was adopted:

President . . . . .	John Shapley
Vice-President . . . . .	Alfred V. Churchill
Secretary . . . . .	Stephen B. Luce
Treasurer . . . . .	J. Donald Young
Directors . . . . .	David M. Robinson
	Paul J. Sachs

## COMPREHENSIVE EXAMINATIONS IN THE FINE ARTS

Through a grant of three thousand dollars from the Carnegie Corporation of New York to the College Art Association of America, the Committee on Standards has been enabled to offer to college students of the class of 1926 comprehensive examinations in the fine arts with ten awards, each accompanied with a medal, as follows:

*First Prize:* a travelling scholarship of \$1250.

*Second Prize:* a resident scholarship of \$500.

*Honorable Mentions* to the maximum number of eight.

The examinations cover three fields: Ancient Art, Mediaeval Art, Renaissance and Modern Art. Candidates take four distinct examinations, as follows:

*A long examination—*

Any one of fifteen questions may be chosen by a candidate. He may secure such help as he can find or his teachers may suggest from books, photographs, slides, and other available equipment. During two weeks he may devote such time as he can to the preparation of his paper. He may resort to clerical assistance, but not to any form of coöperation. The paper must be neatly typewritten, double space, on paper of the standard size (8½ by 11 inches), and in length must not exceed twenty pages, exclusive of illustrations. The purpose of this examination is to test the candidate's power to master, select, and organize material, to compose exact description, to make accurate analysis, to draw independent conclusions, and, in general, to produce under favorable conditions a careful piece of work.

*Three short examinations—*

Three examinations, to each of which the candidate may devote not more than two hours, are separately and successively given at such times and under such supervision as local conditions demand. Each consists of fifteen questions, ten of which are to be selected and answered by the candidate. The purpose of these examinations is to test the candidate's general information, memory, and capacity for working under pressure.

(a) The examination in Ancient Art presupposes a general knowledge of the art of Egypt, the Ancient East, Persia, Crete, Greece, and Rome. A more detailed knowledge of Greek and Roman architecture and sculpture is expected.

(b) The examination in Mediaeval Art presupposes a general knowledge of Christian Art, East and West, extending from the beginning of our era through the fourteenth century in Italy and through the fifteenth century elsewhere. A more detailed knowledge is expected in the case of two at least of the following: church architecture and mosaics through the Middle Ages; Early Christian sepulchral art; manuscript illumination down to the eleventh century; mediaeval sculpture from the eleventh century onward; fourteenth century panel painting and fresco in Italy; fifteenth century panel painting in Northern Europe.

(c) The examination in Renaissance and Modern Art presupposes a general knowledge of the art of the fifteenth century in Italy and of all Western Europe from the sixteenth century to the present day. A more detailed knowledge is expected in the case of two at least of the following: Italian painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Italian sculpture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Italian architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; German painting and engraving of the sixteenth century; seventeenth century painting in Spain; seventeenth century painting in the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic; French architecture and decoration of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries; French, English, and American painting of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

All material submitted by candidates becomes the property of the College Art Association.

A list of books has been drawn up to guide students in their preparation.

The winners of the scholarships will pursue their travels and studies for one year under the direction of the College Art Association. They may enter professional or graduate schools. A number of American institutions have already offered free tuition in this case, thus considerably enhancing the value of the scholarships. The travelling scholar is expected to spend at least a part of the year in foreign travel.

Members of the class of 1926 of any college are eligible for the examinations. Colleges whose students take the examinations are invited to rate the examinations for their degree if they choose by relieving the students from other examinations. All the examination papers are carefully graded and the grades reported to the respective institutions as promptly as possible.

For further information inquiry may be addressed to the secretary of the

#### COMMITTEE ON STANDARDS

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VOL. VIII

THE

NO. 4

# ART BULLETIN

An Illustrated Quarterly published by  
the College Art Association of America

*June 1926*



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Entered as second-class matter October 24, 1925, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

☞Members of the College Art Association receive  
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Association of America, New York University,  
Washington Square, New York.



# THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

Vol. VIII No. 4

JUNE 1926

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA



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*Avila, Cathedral: West Front as it would Appear if Completed according to the Original Scheme*



# TWO DRAWINGS OF THE CATHEDRAL OF AVILA

BY KENNETH CONANT

THE accompanying studies of restoration, made in Avila in 1920, represent the cathedral of that city as completed, but without the company of certain auxiliary constructions which have diminished its impressiveness. Thus the west front is supplied with a southern tower in the style of the northern one; the battlemented parapet is shown free of the later filling by which it was adapted to serve as one wall of the bell ringer's dwelling; and the west wall of the nave is represented in its original situation, as a continuation of the back walls of the towers. For the tall cavernous portal between towers thus formed there are a number of parallels—the nearest at S. Vicente in Avila itself. A similar porch exists at Villasilga in the province of Palencia; another was started, but never carried very far, in front of the Puerta de las Platerías at Santiago de Compostela.

The present great west window of Avila served in the old west wall, if we may judge by the tracery, which fits badly under the outer enclosing arch. Below the window there was a footway connected (through two small arches, now blocked up but still perfectly distinguishable) with the nave triforium at either side. I have represented this passage as protected by a breastwork with loopholes on the strength of marks on the walls and some actual loophole blocks reëmployed in the building. Below this I have represented, as if moved back, the present west portal. It is a curious neo-Plateresque affair, as interesting an example as one could quote of an attempt in baroque times to get the effect of a mediaeval design while employing the currently approved vocabulary of forms. The inner side of this portal still has authentic Gothic tracery on it, and it may be, as Lampérez suggests, that the Gothic north portal was carved to grace the west end of the church. Given the antiquarian air of the present baroque portal, it might be imagined that the latter was built at the time the west wall was relocated.

The splendid east end of the cathedral has been pictured without any of the adventitious structures which have sprung up along the city wall, so that the Puerta del Alcázar appears as a part of the background. The original windows, blocked up but discernible, are indicated. Possibly two more existed, below the later windows cut through the pilaster strips, but I was unable to satisfy myself on the spot that this was certain. Without doubt the filling between the clerestory battlements and also the roof of tile above them are modern; they are accordingly left out of the drawing.



*Avila, Cathedral: Apse End and the City Walls with Modern Additions Removed*



Street believed<sup>1</sup> that the outer wall of the apse dated from the time (1090 to 1107 and later) when the original cathedral and the city walls were under construction. The fact that the engaged shafts of the exterior correspond with those in the ambulatory makes this seem very doubtful. Moreover the machicolated and battlemented outer gallery in two levels bespeaks the thirteenth or the fourteenth century. If we are prepared to believe, with Lampérez,<sup>2</sup> that the apse triforium originally had a quadrant vault with a platform on top, we may consider that the gallery and the battlemented ring wall behind it took their present form when, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the flying buttresses were put in place. To me it seems a reasonable supposition that the original cathedral was a triapsidal building about as large as S. Vicente, set entirely within the city wall, and reaching as far as the existing west front. Certain parts of the aisle and tower walls at the west may plausibly be referred to this building. To enlarge the sanctuary of this old church would have involved breaking through the city wall; and we may suppose that the remainder of the building was progressively rebuilt during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

1. G. E. Street, *Gothic Architecture in Spain*, 1914, I, pp. 230 ff.

2. V. Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Media*, II, pp. 192 ff.

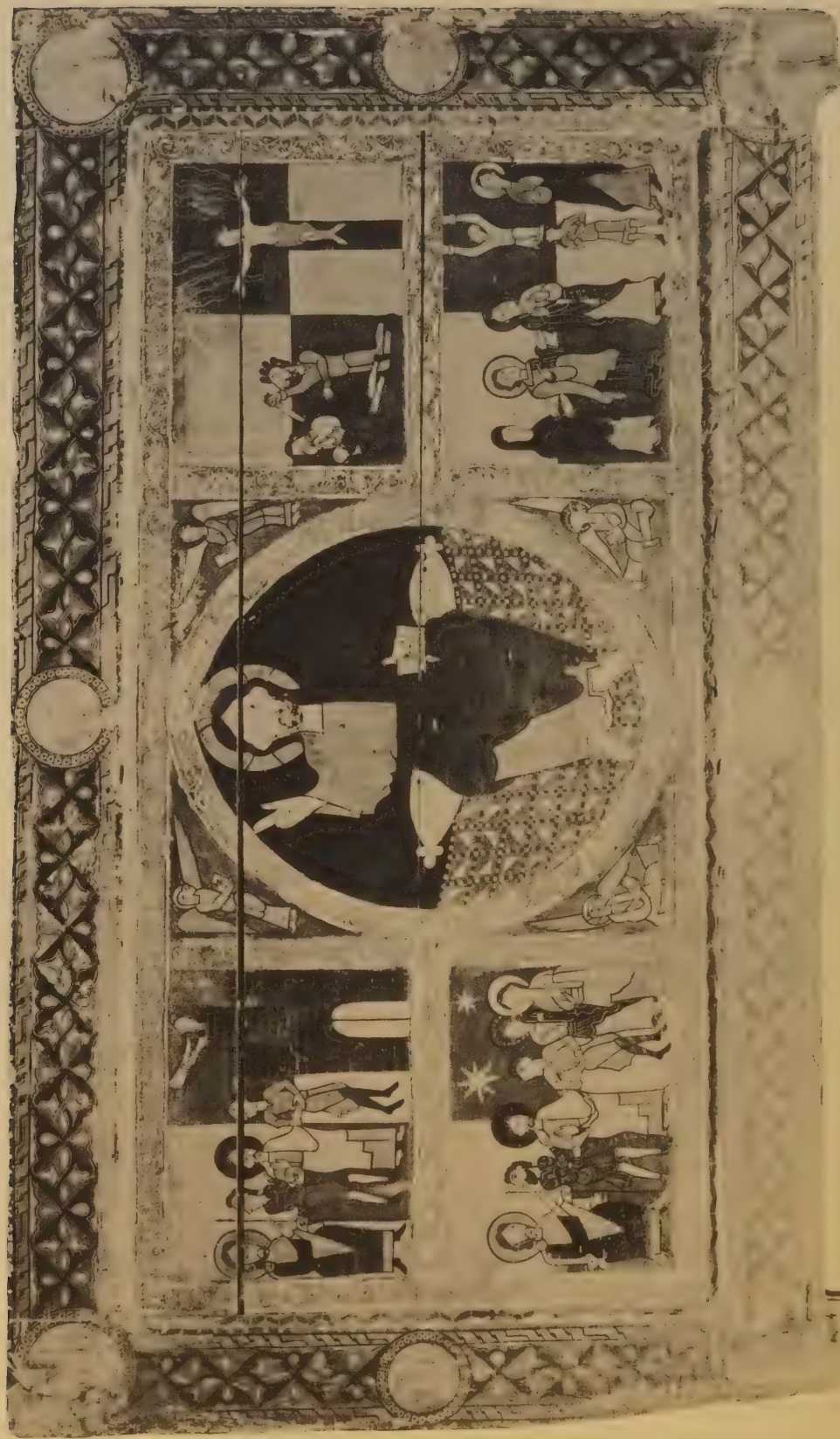


FIG. 1—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: St. Andrew Antependium from Sagars*



# THE EARLIEST PAINTED PANELS OF CATALONIA (IV)<sup>1</sup>

By WALTER W. S. COOK

## (8) THE SAINT ANDREW ALTAR-FRONTAL FROM SAGARS

THREE panels which formerly hung together and were parts of the same altar are now divided between the Episcopal Museums of Vich and Solsona. They were found in the church of St. Andrew at Sagars,<sup>2</sup> a small parish church to the northwest of Vich, in the diocese of Solsona. The antependium from the front of the altar, which represents scenes from the life of St. Andrew, was brought to the Museum of Vich by Bishop Morgades. The side panels, which were overlooked by the bishop, were found several years later in the church at Sagars by Dr. Serra i Vilaró, the learned scholar and director of the Episcopal Museum at Solsona, who brought them to that museum. One of the Solsona panels represents scenes from Genesis and the Passion of Christ, the other, scenes from the life of the Virgin.

The antependium, now at Vich (Fig. 1),<sup>3</sup> is the earliest preserved example in Spain with scenes from the life of St. Andrew. It is divided by bands of stucco ornament into a wide central compartment and four slightly narrower lateral compartments. The entire composition is surrounded by a narrow band of stucco ornament and a wide frame.

In the *Majestas Domini* of the central compartment (Fig. 2) Christ has a red beard and moustache and long red hair. His face is somewhat mutilated: only the outlines of the nose, eyes, and ears are now visible. His orange nimbus is embellished with concentric circles and the arms of the cross are shaded. He wears a dark green mantle, which falls over the left shoulder and is draped over the knees, and a wide-sleeved orange tunic, covered with fine red and white lines. On the left knee He holds the Book

1. For previous articles in this series see *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, pp. 85 ff.; VI, 2, pp. 31 ff.; VIII, 2, pp. 57 ff. See note 2 of the last article for an acknowledgment of the generous help given me in these studies.

2. Sagars (Sagàs, Sagasse) is situated in the Llusanés, near the road which goes from Gironella to Prats. The place is mentioned in the act of consecration of La Seo d'Urgel (Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romànica a Catalunya*, Barcelona, 1911, I, p. 408). The church, which has been much restored, especially at the west end, has a triple apse, nave, and single aisles, and is similar in proportions to many other eleventh century churches of this period in Catalonia. For a discussion of the architecture of the church see *ibid.*, II, pp. 186-187, figs. 97, 98; and for a description of the place, César August Torras, *Pireneu català, Guia itinerari, Bergadà,*

*Valls altes del Llobregat*, Barcelona, 1905, p. 184, and Pelegrí Casades y Gramatxes, *Lo Llucanès*, Barcelona, 1897, p. 187.

3. Vich, Episcopal Museum, no. 1615; tempera on panel; 1.68 x 1 m.; Thomas photograph, no. 359; the two lower corners and the upper left corner of the frame are damaged, but otherwise the panel is unusually well preserved. Bibliography: *Catálogo del museo arqueológico-artístico episcopal de Vich*, Vich, 1893, no. 1615, pp. 69-71; Joseph Gudiol i Cunill, *Las pinturas románicas del museum de Vich*, in *Forma*, 1904, I, p. 359; Antonio Muñoz, *I paliotti dipinti dei musei di Vich e di Barcellona*, in *Anuari*, 1907, I, p. 111, fig. 17; *Materiales y Documentos Españoles*, VIII, no. 52, reproduction; August L. Mayer, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 18, fig. 12.

of the Gospels, with I H S inscribed on the orange cover. The right hand is raised in benediction. The wide seat on which He is enthroned has a diaper pattern of two-colored squares, each of which is subdivided diagonally into green and orange triangles. The outlines of the triangles are indicated by white pearl dots, and the squares are surrounded by brown stripes on which were painted narrow black stripes containing a series of white circles. The large yellow bolster is covered with a fine network of red and green lines. The figure is relieved against a dark green background and surrounded by an oval mandorla embellished with a foliate scroll in low-relief stucco.

The four symbols of the evangelists, depicted in the dark red spandrels outside the mandorla, are anthropomorphic in character, with human bodies and the heads of the symbols. In the upper left spandrel is the symbol of St. John, with the head of an eagle; in the upper right, the symbol of St. Matthew, with the head of a man; in the lower left, St. Mark, with the head of a lion; and in the lower right, St. Luke, with the head of an ox.

The story of St. Andrew begins in the upper left compartment (Fig. 3), where the saint is conducted by two guards from the presence of Aegeas into prison. "And the blessed S. Andrew, whilst he was in Achaia, he replenished all the country with churches and converted the people to the faith of Jesu Christ and informed the wife of Aegeas, which was the provost and judge of the town, in the faith, and baptized her. And when Aegeas heard this he came into the city of Patras and constrained the Christians to sacrifice. And S. Andrew came unto him, and said: It behooveth thee which hast deserved to be a judge, to know thy judge which is in heaven, and he so known, to worship him, and so worshipping, withdraw thy courage from the false gods . . . And then said Aegeas: Tell to thy disciples such vanities, and obey thou to me, and make sacrifice unto the Gods almighty. And then said S. Andrew: I offer every day unto God Almighty, a lamb without spot, and after that he is received of all the people, so liveth he and is all whole. Then demanded Aegeas how that might be. And Andrew said: Take the form for to be a disciple, and thou shalt know it well. I shall demand thee, said Aegeas, by torments. Then he being all angry, commanded that he should be enclosed in prison."<sup>4</sup> The proconsul Aegeas, seated on an orange throne on the extreme left, holds a tall spear in his left hand and his right is raised in a gesture of speech. He is represented with dark red hair, beard, and moustache, and a large red halo, inscribed with concentric wavy lines. He is clothed in an orange mantle, clasped at the right shoulder, a dark green robe with long sleeves, and a long orange tunic, and dark sandals. St. Andrew, who holds his right palm outward in a gesture of protest, is about to be led away by two guards. He also has dark red hair and beard. He wears a long orange tunic and light yellow mantle; and he has a dark green halo and is barefoot. The guard on the left, clad in a short green tunic and light orange hose, siezes the saint

4. Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, tr. by William Caxton, (ed. F. S. Ellis), II, pp. 99-102.





FIG. 2—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Majestas Domini of St. Andrew Antependium*





FIG. 3—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of St. Andrew Antependium



FIG. 4—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of St. Andrew Antependium



by the shoulder; the second guard, who has red hair and beard, a violet tunic, and dark green hose, holds the left hand of the saint. The prison, shown on the right, is a dark green building with a round-arched portal and three fortified towers. From the crenelated top of the central tower appear the head and shoulders of the jailer, who sounds a long yellow oliphant. This scene, as is the case with the other three shown in the side compartments, is placed against a diaper background consisting of red and yellow rectangles.

In the second scene (Fig. 4), directly below the first, the saint is condemned to die by crucifixion and is led away by two guards. "And on the morn he came to judgment, and the blessed S. Andrew unto the sacrifice of the idols. And Aegeas commanded to be said to him: If thou obey not to me, I shall do hang thee on the cross, for so much as thou hast praised it. And thus as he menaced him of many torments S. Andrew said to him: Think what torment that is most grievous that thou mayst do to me, and the more I suffer, the more I shall be agreeable to my king, because I shall be most firm in the torments and pain. Then commanded Aegeas that he should be beaten of twenty-one men, and that he should be so beaten, bounden by the feet and hands unto the cross, to the end that his pain should endure the longer."<sup>5</sup> As in the preceding scene, Aegeas is seated in a frontal position on the extreme left. The Dagobert throne has lion heads and claws. In his left hand Aegeas holds a long scepter, terminating in small branches, and he wears a dark red halo, orange mantle, dark green robe, and embroidered sandals. The saint and the two guards, who are leading him away, are dressed as in the scene above. Beyond them two disciples exhort St. Andrew not to abandon the faith. The disciple on the right is represented with a yellow halo, inscribed with zigzag lines, and is clad in a violet tunic and mantle; the second disciple is shown with an orange tunic, a dark green mantle, and a green halo inscribed with a series of white dots. Both are beardless and each holds a Book of the Gospels in the left hand. Above are two yellow eight-pointed stars.

Various interpretations have been given for the scene in the lower right compartment (Fig. 5), where a woman and three beardless disciples gaze at the figure of a small boy who, with upstretched hands, stands on the shoulders of a youth. According to Gudiol<sup>6</sup> this scene represents St. Andrew, symbolized by the boy, entrusting his soul to the Creator. It seems more likely, however, that this is a genre passage interpolated in the narrative, of a child standing on a man's shoulders in order to obtain a better view of the crucifixion of St. Andrew, depicted above. The small stature of the man and the mature proportions of the child cannot be considered as objections in view of the impoverished naturalism of this style. The isolation of the group and the lack of any indication of the throng which would explain the child's position are to be expected in an art which is narrative and descriptive but which does not strive at representation. The

5. *Ibid.*, II, p. 102.

6. *Catálogo del museo . . . de Vich*, p. 70.

three disciples are imperfectly rendered as looking upward at the crucifixion; they are shown with orange, yellow, and green robes and halos and hold the palms of their hands outward in a gesture of astonishment. The woman on the extreme left, clad in an orange gown, embroidered sandals, and a dark green mantle which covers her head, may possibly represent Maximilla, the converted wife of the proconsul.

The crucifixion of St. Andrew and the death of Aegeas are shown in the upper right compartment (Fig. 6). "And then they hung him on the cross, like as to them was commanded. And there he lived two days, and preached to twenty thousand men that were there. And then all the company swore the death of Aegeas, and said: The holy man and debonair ought not to suffer this. Then came thither Aegeas for to take him down off the cross. And when Andrew saw him he said: Wherefore art thou come to me, Aegeas? If it be for penance thou shalt have it, and if it be for to take me down, know thou for certain thou shalt not take me hereof alive: for I see now my lord and king that abideth for me. And when the holy S. Andrew saw that the world would have taken him down off the cross he made this orison hanging on the cross, as S. Austin saith in the book of penance: Sire, suffer me not to descend from this cross alive, . . . Command my body unto the earth, so that it behoveth no more to wake, but let it be stretched freely to thee, which art fountain of joy never failing. And when he had said this, there came from heaven a right great shining light, which environed him by the space of half an hour, in such wise that no man might see him. And when this light departed he yielded and rendered therewith his spirit. And Maximilla, the wife of Aegeas, took away the body of the apostle, and buried it honourably. And ere that Aegeas was come again to his house, he was ravished with a devil by the way, and died tofore them all."<sup>7</sup>

Naked except for an orange loin cloth, the saint is tied hand and foot by means of cords to a black cross. He has long red hair and beard and is represented as alive, since his eyes are still open. Rays of wavy light descend from heaven and envelop the arms of the cross. The death of Aegeas is depicted on the left, where a red-bearded devil plunges a dagger into the back of the proconsul. Aegeas falls to the ground, throwing his right hand over his face in a gesture of pain, and a second devil drags him down to hell. Above is the inscription *DIABOLVS OCCIDIT EGEAS*—"the devil kills Aegeas." The proconsul wears a dark green mantle and an orange-colored tunic and hose. Both devils have bushy red beards and the devil that stabs Aegeas has red hair standing on end like a coxcomb.

The bevel of the wide frame surrounding the antependium is decorated with a red and green zigzag ribbon on an orange ground. The outer surface of the frame is richly decorated on all four sides with a continuous foliate *motif* interwoven to form an X design. A thin white line emphasizes the outlines of the dark red and black leaves,

7. Voragine, *ed. cit.*, pp. 103-104.





FIG. 5—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of St. Andrew Antependium*

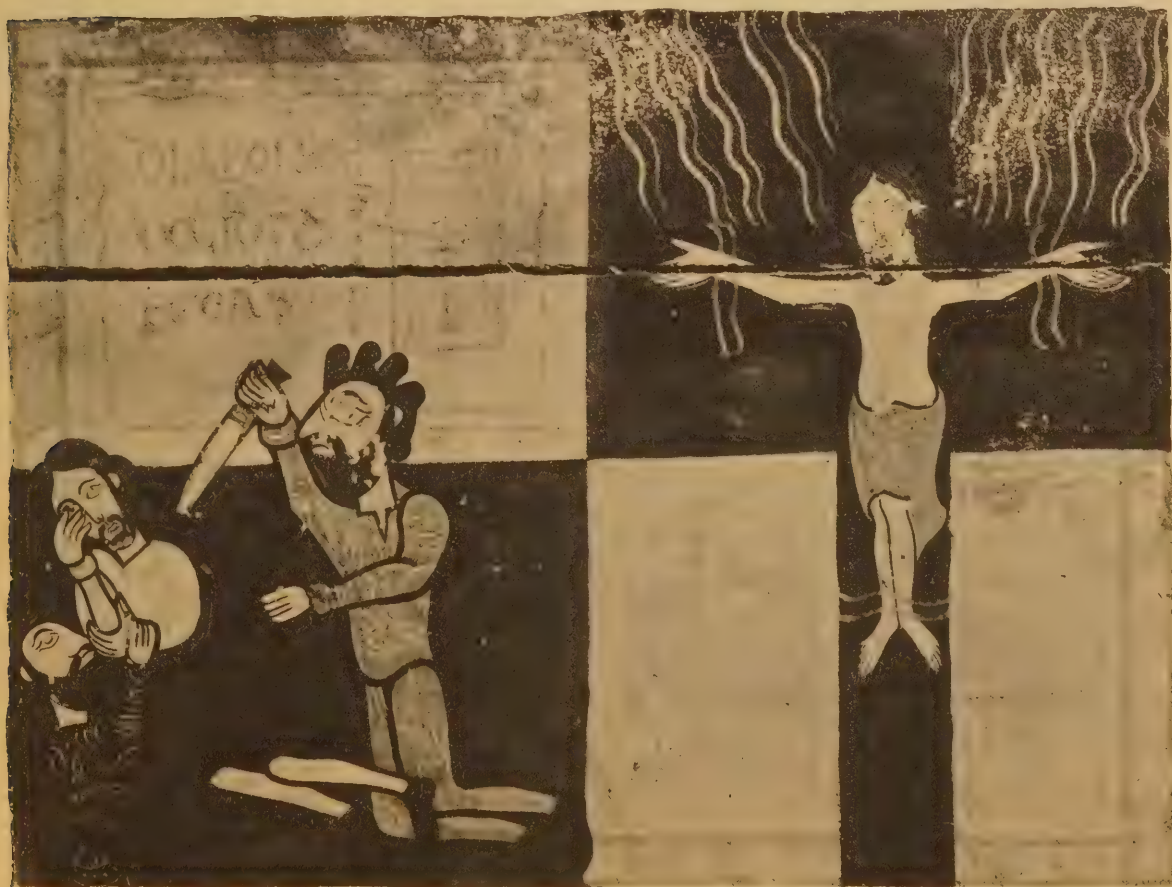


FIG. 6—*Vich, Episcopal Museum: Detail of St. Andrew Antependium*





FIG. 7—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page of Beatus Manuscript



which are bordered on either side by an orange twisted-rope pattern and a series of white dots. The foliate *motif* is placed against a yellow background, and the narrow border, against a dark red background. The pattern is intercepted at the four corners and at the centers of the sides of the frame by circular yellow medallions and each medallion is surrounded by a narrow band containing a series of yellow pearls with dots. We have already noted, in our discussion of the Vich altar-canopy, that the zig-zag ribbon, which appears here without the trefoil filling pattern, is an old mediaeval *motif*.<sup>8</sup> The interlaced foliate design is less frequently found, although it appears occasionally during the Romanesque period, as shown by Gumpert's Bible in Erlangen.<sup>9</sup> The twisted-rope pattern, interrupted as here by horizontal strands, is more common, appearing frequently in Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth century,<sup>10</sup> whence it passed into later Mozarabic manuscripts and other works of art of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Circular medallions as a decorative *motif* are also found during the Carolingian period, when they are usually employed only at the corners of the composition.<sup>11</sup> It is, however, probable that their use on our panel was inspired by antependia in gold and silver where large cabochon crystals were inserted at the four corners and in the centers of the frames.

The influence of metal work is even more apparent in the stucco ornament. The *rinseau* employed on the mandorla, on the vertical dividing strips, and on the border surrounding the entire composition is similar in form to that found throughout the Middle Ages<sup>12</sup> but the modeling of the pattern in low-relief stucco shows an obvious attempt to reproduce the effect of filagree work, such as that found on metal book-covers. The degenerate bead-and-reel stucco design with half reels and pearl ornament, which is employed on the horizontal strips dividing the upper and lower lateral compartments of the panel, is again an attempt to approximate the impression of jewel work, and can be compared with the uncut stones which adorn the mandorla of the twelfth century diptych in the Camera Santa at Oviedo.<sup>13</sup> All traces of color have disappeared from the stucco on our panel, which is now a dull grey, but in its original state, when the stucco was gilded, the general effect must have been similar to that of the ornament on the Oviedo diptych.

The unusually good state of this altar-frontal is due in large measure to the fact

8. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, p. 97.

9. Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. XXXV, fig. 117.

10. Typical examples of its use in Carolingian manuscripts are illustrated by the Gospels of Lothaire, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 266 (Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*, Paris, 1913, pls. XXXIII-XXXIV); Gospels at Wolfenbüttel, Ducal Library, 16, Aug. fol. (*ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII); Sacramentary of Marmoutier, Autun, Municipal Library, no. 19 bis (*ibid.*, pls. XL, XLII); first Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 1, arch of canon table (*ibid.*, pl. LIV).

11. Gospels of St.-Vaast of Arras, Municipal Library, 1045 (*ibid.*, pl. XCII, XCVI); Sacramentary of St.-Denis, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 2290 (*ibid.*, pl. CIV); Gospels, Leyden University, 48 (*ibid.*, pl. CVIII, fig. B); Sacramentary of Corbie, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12051 (*ibid.*, pl. CXI, fig. A).

12. Cf. the *rinceaux* on this panel with those which appear in Carolingian manuscripts of the ninth century, e. g., Godescalc Gospels, Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. lat. 1203 (*ibid.*, pl. III); Gospels of St. Martin-des-champs, Paris, Arsenal Library, no. 599 (*ibid.*, pl. XI).

13. Arxiv "Mas," photographs nos. 25262 C, 25263 C.

that the uprights of the frame were prolonged at the bottom, thereby raising the antependium above the floor, and protecting it from the damp and abuse that so frequently ruined the ornament on the lower frames of those which rested directly on the floor of the church or on the ground. In fact, the manner in which the Catalan antependia were constructed can be well demonstrated by this example. Heavy, wide planks, still showing on the back the blows of the adze, were joined together horizontally with wooden dowels, which can be seen where the planks have warped apart. Small iron clamps were also employed on the back to reinforce the dowels, and strips of canvas were stretched over the line of joining. The ends of the planks were then fitted into a deep groove cut into the side frames, which consisted of heavy beams and were riveted into place with iron clamps and wooden dowels. Near the edge of the side frames a long vertical groove was cut (.89 x .023 m.) and into this groove the side panels, now in the Museum at Solsona (Figs. 29 and 30), were fitted and doweled into place. The ends of the antependium frames were often ornamented, as shown by this panel, where green stripes were painted on an orange ground. The back of the altar-frontal was invariably left in a rough state but the front was planed down smooth and covered with rough linen; on this surface the artist drew his composition and applied the stucco ornament.

Although the ornament of our panel shows the influence of metal work, the composition, draftsmanship, and color are directly influenced by the local manuscript style. This is best shown by the drawing of the enormous eyes, the diminutive ears, the closely cropped beards, the noses with nostrils indicated by a single stroke, the shading of the flesh tones of hands and faces, and the rendering of the feet. The *tache* on the cheek, which assumed the form of a triangle in the St. Lawrence panel at Vich, is treated here in much the same manner. The drapery, which falls to the ankles in straight lines, showing many reminiscences of an old drapery style, is ornamented with fine brush strokes. Another feature typical of the manuscript style of Spain is the treatment of the backgrounds in the lateral compartments, where each scene is divided in checker-board fashion into red and yellow rectangles. This unusual arrangement is a common formula in Leon-Castile, and can be illustrated by a page from the thirteenth century Beatus manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Fig. 7). On this example the solid fields of color are relieved by eight-pointed stars, whereas on our panel the rectangles are decorated with parallel wavy lines and twisted-rope ornament.

The introduction of architecture into a scene is fairly common in Catalan Romanesque sculpture but is seldom found on the early painted panels. There is no attempt to render perspective. The prison, shown in the upper left compartment of our antependium is on the same plane as the figures outside, that are represented as tall as the building itself. The three towers are surmounted by pointed crenelations similar in form to those found in a miniature of the tenth century Codex Aemilianensis (Fig. 8),





FIG. 8—Escorial Library: Page of *Codex Aemilianensis*



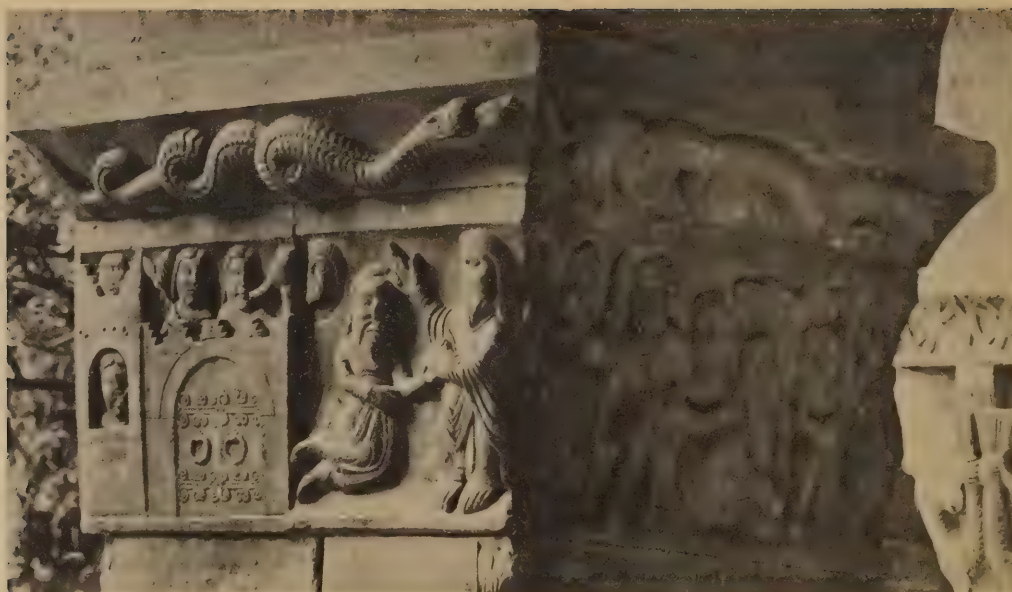


FIG. 9—*Elne, Cloister of Cathedral: Capital*

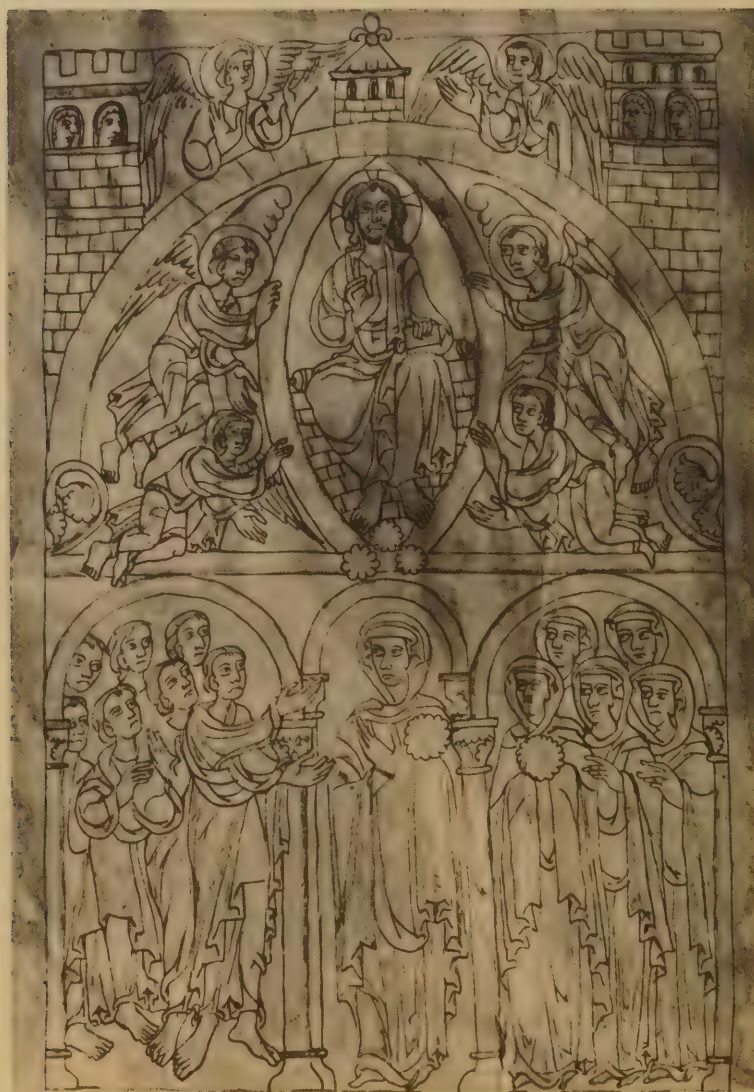


FIG. 10—*Tortosa, Cathedral Archives: Page of Missal (Photo. Mas)*



which shows the city of Toledo<sup>14</sup> with towers containing small horseshoe arches and inhabitants who gaze from the walls; on our panel the building contains no windows or arches, but at the top of the central tower appear the head and shoulders of the jailer, who wears a pointed cap and blows a long oliphant or hunting horn.<sup>15</sup> The round-arched portal and tall crenelated towers are similar to those found frequently on Catalan monuments of the Romanesque period.<sup>16</sup> On a twelfth century capital in the cloister of the cathedral at Elne (Fig. 9) the figures of Christ and St. Peter are as tall as the city of Rome, and a guard above on the walls blows an oliphant in the same manner as on our panel.

It is obvious that the antependium under discussion has very little value artistically. Its most interesting features are iconographic. In the examples of *Majestas Domini* already studied the seat of Christ has been either a bench-like throne supported by two uprights,<sup>17</sup> a globe,<sup>18</sup> or the globe mandorla,<sup>19</sup> but in this altar-frontal the throne extends across the entire width of the mandorla and bisects it. This is undoubtedly a variant or derivative of the masonry throne found in the two stucco antependia from Esterri de Cardós.<sup>20</sup> The masonry throne, as I have already shown in my study of the stucco antependia,<sup>21</sup> was common in southern France and Spain during the twelfth century. It appears, for example, on the *Majestas Domini* relief in the ambulatory of the church of St.-Sernin at Toulouse<sup>22</sup> and in a twelfth century Tortosa manuscript (Fig. 10), where the throne completely fills the lower half of the mandorla. The masonry technique does not appear on our altar-frontal, but it must be supposed that the artist has intended to suggest this type of throne covered with a rich brocade. The type may have originated in Italy, since a similar arrangement is found on an ivory plaque in the

14. The city is identified by the inscription *civitas regia toletana*. Buildings are frequently represented in early Mozarabic codices, especially in the Beatus manuscripts, where the cities of Jerusalem, Babylon, Susa, Philadelphia, and other towns are shown. Cf. Morgan Beatus MS. no. 644, fols. 48, 52 v., 185, 202 v., 240 v. A typical Mozarabic building with strong Eastern influence is illustrated by a page from the Gerona Beatus (*Art Studies*, II, fig. 25).

15. Similar in type to those preserved in many European cathedral treasuries. An oliphant analogous to that found on our panel and held in the same manner is shown in the early Morgan Beatus MS. no. 644, fol. 145. Other Romanesque examples are seen on the Doubting Thomas relief in the cloister of Sto. Domingo de Silos, middle twelfth century (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture* . . . , pl. 671), on a relief at Cluny (V. Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne*, pl. LX), and on a destroyed mosaic of the cathedral of Brindisi, showing archbishop Turpin and Roland (*Mâle, L'art religieux du XII siècle*, fig. 175).

16. E.g., Ripoll, sculptured façade, northern half, third zone, city of Jerusalem (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*,

II, fig. 1197); Tarragona, cathedral, capital in cloister, shown on abacus, building with tall central tower and round-arched portal with open doors (*ibid.*, III, fig. 677); Archs de Sant Pau, baptismal font, three towers and a man in the tower (*ibid.*, III, fig. 748). Similar buildings are also found in Catalan manuscripts, such as the *Liber antiquitatum*, which shows the castle of Ribes with three towers with a cross at the top of the central tower (*ibid.*, III, fig. 862) and the *Liber Feudorum*, which shows the castles of Taltavull and Penna with three towers and round-arched doorways (*ibid.*, III, fig. 863). Typical Catalan buildings of the period are the tower of the palace at Tarragona, with a crenelated parapet (*ibid.*, III, fig. 880) and the castle of Peratallada, a restoration of which is illustrated by Puig y Cadafalch (*op. cit.*, III, p. 644).

17. Cf. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, figs. 12, 14, 16, 23.

18. *Ibid.*, VI, 2, pls. XI, XII.

19. *Ibid.*, figs. 32-41.

20. *Art Studies*, II, figs. 3 and 4.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

22. *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 13.

cathedral of Salerno<sup>23</sup> and the same diaper pattern appears in a fresco at S. Angelo in Formis.<sup>24</sup> The slight curve which is plainly visible can be explained if we suppose that the Catalan artist has copied his figure from an apse fresco, reproducing faithfully the slight curve which would appear to the spectator when the fresco is seen from below.

The anthropomorphic form of the symbols of the evangelists, in which the head of the symbol is shown on a human body instead of the more common animal body, is seldom found in the art of Catalonia. In fact, its use in this panel, where it is employed in the spandrels of the central compartment, is one of the few instances which can be cited on monuments of eastern Spain.<sup>25</sup> The *motif* appears in Western art as early as the eighth century, as shown by the Gospels in the church of Maeseyck, written in southern England (c. 770),<sup>26</sup> and the north French Orosius manuscript at Laon (c. 760).<sup>27</sup> In the Sacramentary of Gellone, which Zimmerman assigns to the diocese of Meaux and dates in the year 780,<sup>28</sup> the evangelists are represented by full-length human figures with the heads of their symbols, whereas in the early Latin manuscript at Poitiers (Fig. 11), which Mr. Friend assigns to central France and to the eighth century,<sup>29</sup> only the busts are shown as in the Orosius manuscript, enclosed within medallions. According to Janitschek<sup>30</sup> the anthropomorphic symbols were imported from Syria, but this statement cannot be confirmed by extant monuments from that region. It is not improbable that certain elements of the type may have originated in the Orient, since similar combinations of a human body and animal head were common in the art of ancient Egypt and Assyria<sup>31</sup> and continued in the East until a late period. But from whatever source the *motif* may originally have been derived, the form found in Europe during the eighth century was a thoroughly naturalized Western type<sup>32</sup> which circulated widely in late Latin manuscripts.

Through the medium of manuscripts the anthropomorphic symbols were carried into Visigothic Spain, where they were in widespread use from the ninth to the twelfth century. On the earliest Mozarabic manuscripts the symbols usually appear above the

23. A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1902, II, fig. 462.

24. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale*, p. 265, fig. 101.

25. An unusual example of a mixed type, which shows the Saviour surrounded by angels who hold the busts of the symbols, is found in the Romanesque church of Sant Martí de Fenollar (*Pintures murals catalanes*, fasc. II, fig. 11).

26. E. Heinrich Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1916, IV, pl. 320, figs. d, e, pp. 142-3, 303-4.

27. Laon, Municipal Library, no. 137, fol. 1 v., written at the Chartreuse du Val-St.-Pierre. Here human busts with heads of the symbols are enclosed within medallions (*ibid.*, II, pl. 144, fig. a, pp. 85, 222-3).

28. Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12048, fols. 42, 42b, 115b (*ibid.*, II, pl. 154, fig. c, pl. 155, figs. a, b, pp. 89-90, 228 ff.).

29. Poitiers, Municipal Library, no. 17, fol. 31, from the abbey of Ste.-Croix, founded by Ste.-Radegonde. According to Mr. Albert M. Friend, Jr., the manuscript should be dated earlier than the early ninth century, to which it is assigned by Ch. Cahier (*Nouveaux Mélanges*, 1874, II, p. 112), and Friend has also noted that the arrangement of the symbols on this page follows the old Latin order of Gospels.

30. Janitschek, *Die Trierer Adabandschrift*, p. 69, n. 3.

31. In the bas-reliefs from Nineveh the human body with the head and wings of the eagle is not dissimilar in form to that of the symbol of St. John in the Sacramentary of Gellone, and the similarity would be even more apparent if a scroll were substituted for the pine cone and basket carried by the Assyrian deity.

32. For a discussion of the Western use of the symbols of the evangelists see a forthcoming article by Mr. Albert M. Friend, Jr., *Illustration of Jerome's Vulgate Gospels*, 383 A.D.



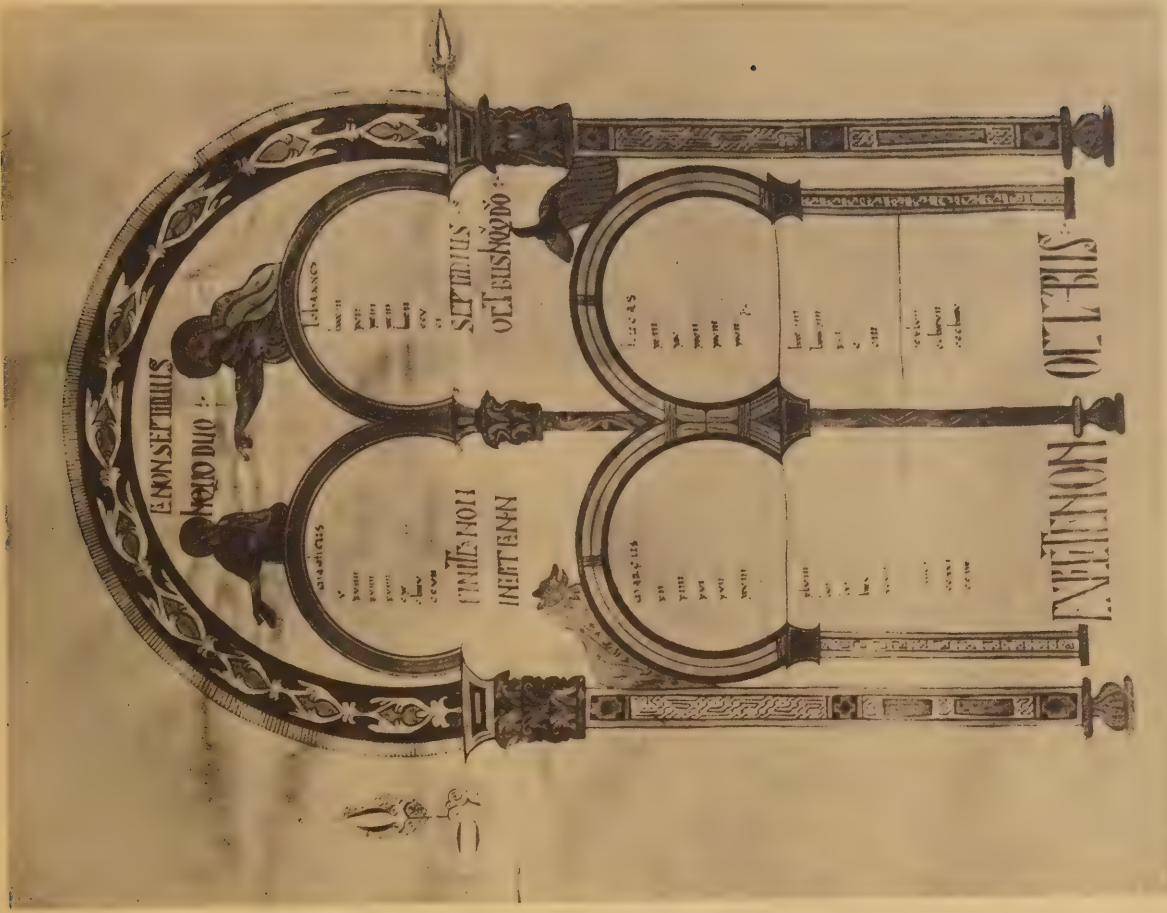
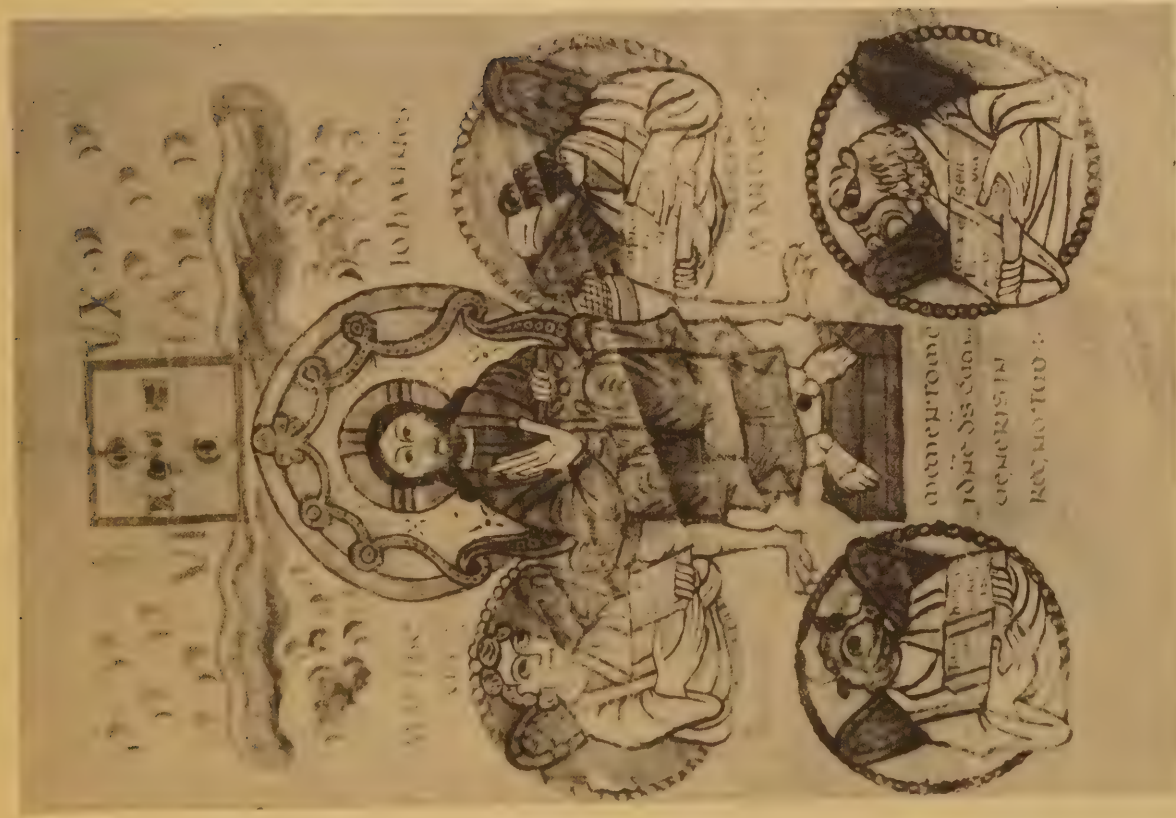






FIG. 13—Leon, Cathedral Archives: Page of Mozarabic Bible  
(Photo. Mas)



FIG. 14—Madrid, Bibl. Nac.: Page of Morals of Gregory



arches of the canon tables. Sometimes a single human figure with an animal head and wings is portrayed, or all four symbols are shown together in the same folio. On one page of a manuscript in the archives of San Isidoro at Leon all four symbols are anthropomorphic and winged, while on another page of the same manuscript (Fig. 12) the two symbols above the lower arches have the animal form, the two upper symbols are anthropomorphic, and all four are without wings. One of the most unusual combinations is that illustrated in Fig. 13, a page from the Bible in the cathedral archives at Leon,<sup>33</sup> written by the deacon Juan in the year 920, where the symbol of Mark is represented by a lion attached to the figure of a winged angel.

In the numerous copies of the Beatus manuscripts, beginning with the early tenth century version in the Morgan library,<sup>34</sup> the anthropomorphic symbols were almost never omitted. The symbol of St. John in the Astorga Beatus, now at the John Rylands Library, Manchester,<sup>35</sup> recalls the symbol in the Sacramentary of Gellone. In the late twelfth century copy at Paris (Fig. 15) the human busts are attached to circular discs, symbolical of the fiery wheels of Ezekiel. In this manuscript the significance of the whirling wheels is almost entirely lost and is much better shown in an earlier manuscript, the *Morals of St. Gregory* (Fig. 14) executed in 945 at Balernica or Baralangas (Burgos) by Florenncio, where the rotary effect of the wheels is clearly suggested.<sup>36</sup> The late persistence of early types can be further demonstrated by the thirteenth century Beatus in the Morgan Library, where the symbol of Mark is again represented as a winged human body with the head of a lion. On another folio of this manuscript (Fig. 16) the four symbols are seated at desks and write their Gospels. The influence of the Beatus manuscripts on the Romanesque Spanish Bibles and frescoes is demonstrated by a page from the Bible of Avila (fol. 327) (Fig. 17) and the ceiling of the Pantheon of the Kings at San Isidoro, Leon, where the anthropomorphic types are again employed. In Catalonia, on the other hand, this form is seldom found, although the Bible of Farfa shows the use of the four animal heads attached to a single human body (Fig. 18). There is, in fact, no region in western Europe where the anthropomorphic type was so common as in Leon-Castile, and the frequency with which it appears in this section of the Peninsula is additional evidence of the conservative, *retardataire* character of the Mozarabic manuscript style, which retained features of the late Latin style longer than other European schools.

The anthropomorphic form does not appear to have been adopted by the West

33. Shown at the Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, Madrid, 1924 (*Exposición de códices miniados españoles, catálogo*, Madrid, June 1924, no. 5, p. 11).

34. J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. 644, formerly in the Ashburnham and Yates-Thompson collections, fols. 9, 10, 11. The anthropomorphic symbols are also found in the Facundus Beatus at Madrid, illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 9.

35. A. Bachelin, *Description d'un commentaire de l'apocalypse d'Astorga*, Paris, 1869, pp. 5-6, reproduc-

tion facing p. 6. Cf. reproduction facing p. 17, where anthropomorphic busts of the symbols are shown on the discs or wheels of Ezekiel.

36. Gómez-Moreno (*Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 381) has clearly misunderstood the significance of the fiery wheels of Ezekiel shown on the casket of Froila II (910) in the Camera Santa at Oviedo. According to the inscription the casket was presented by Froila II and his wife before they ascended the throne.

Frankish artists of the Carolingian period, and its absence from the ninth century schools of Tours, Rheims, and St.-Denis explains why the *motif* is so rarely found in northwestern France during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. It does appear, however, in the East Frankish schools, as shown by a ninth century ivory of the school of Metz, where the evangelistic symbols are seated.<sup>37</sup> It also continues in the Rhenish and German schools as late as the twelfth century;<sup>38</sup> the symbol of St. John on a page from a Regensburg manuscript<sup>39</sup> is identical in form with that shown in the Sacramentary of Gellone. Sporadic examples are also found in England<sup>40</sup> and Italy.<sup>41</sup>

The appearance of the *motif* in central and southern France during the twelfth century, as illustrated by a Gospel page from Limoges (Fig. 20),<sup>42</sup> where the busts of the symbols surround the figure of the *Majestas Domini* as on our Catalan panel, may be due to Spanish influence. But this influence from Spain may have been overemphasized by M. Mâle, who, when explaining the derivation of an anthropomorphic symbol on a capital in the cloister at Moissac,<sup>43</sup> states that "*un motif si étrange, et tout à fait isolé dans notre art français du XII siècle, prouve clairement que l'artiste a feuilleté un manuscrit de Beatus pour y chercher l'inspiration.*"<sup>44</sup> Iconographic forms popular in Spain were common in southern France, as M. Mâle has clearly demonstrated, but the presence of the *motif* at Moissac may equally well represent the survival of an old Merovingian tradition in that region. The anthropomorphic form of the symbols appears elsewhere in France during the twelfth century, as shown by the Bible of St. Yrieix,<sup>45</sup> and the Bible of St. Bénigne at Dijon (Fig. 19),<sup>46</sup> where the symbol of Luke

37. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser*, Berlin, 1914, I, pp. 43-44, fig. 78.

38. Apocalypse, Trèves, Municipal Library, no. 31, eighth to ninth century (*The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, fig. 11); metal plaque, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, no. 507, Rhenish tenth (?) century, Evangelist Matthew is shown with wings (Wilhelm Vöge, *Die deutschen Bildwerke und die der anderen cisalpinen Länder*, Berlin, 1910, pl. III, no. 507; Latin MS., ninth to tenth century (Robert Eisler, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Kärnten, beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, Leipzig, 1907, figs. 79-82; Bern, Municipal Library, cod. no. 85, standing anthropomorphic symbols in a mandorla (photo. Swarzenski); illuminated manuscript, Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 10438, busts of the symbols (Weber, *Einbanddecken*, pls. XCIV, XCVI-XCVIII); reliquary or pectoral cross in walrus ivory, origin uncertain, Lower Rhenish (?), tenth century, Victoria and Albert Museum (Margaret H. Longhurst, *Two Ivory Reliefs at South Kensington*, in *Burlington Magazine*, XLVI, February, 1925, pp. 93-94, fig. A); gold altar cross from Herford, with filigree, niello work and stones, made by Rogerus-Theophilus at Helmershausen, c. 1100, Berlin, Schloss Museum (Otto von Falke and Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, Frankfurt a. M., 1904, pl. 15); altar cross of Petrikirche (Fritzlar) by Rogerus von Helmershausen (*ibid.*, fig. 7); Latin Gospels, Salzburg

school, twelfth century, Munich Library, Clm. cod. lat. 15903, fol. 10 v.; rose window, Strassburg cathedral, thirteenth century busts in medallions (Ch. Cahier, *Les évangélistes en pied, avec têtes d'animaux*, in *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie*, Paris, 1874, II, p. 105).

39. Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. L, fig. 153.

40. Oxford, MS. in the Bodleian Library; Bible of William Rufus, library of Winchester cathedral (Louisa Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early Christian and Mediaeval Art*, London, 1885, pl. 45, fig. 15, pl. 51); cathedral, Hereford, Latin Gospels, second half twelfth century, with evangelist writing at a desk (Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts, Illustrated Catalogue*, 1908, p. 9, no. 19, pl. 24).

41. Italian Bible, Bologna, c. 1260, busts in foliate medallions (Sir George Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, Oxford, 1920, II, pl. LIV).

42. For a description of this manuscript see Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1924, I, pp. 213 ff.

43. Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

45. *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 1, fig. 3.

46. Other Romanesque examples in France are: ivory crozier head, Carrand Collection, where the evangelists are seated (Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, Paris, 1856, IV, pl. XVII); ivory *bénitier* (Cahier, *op.*



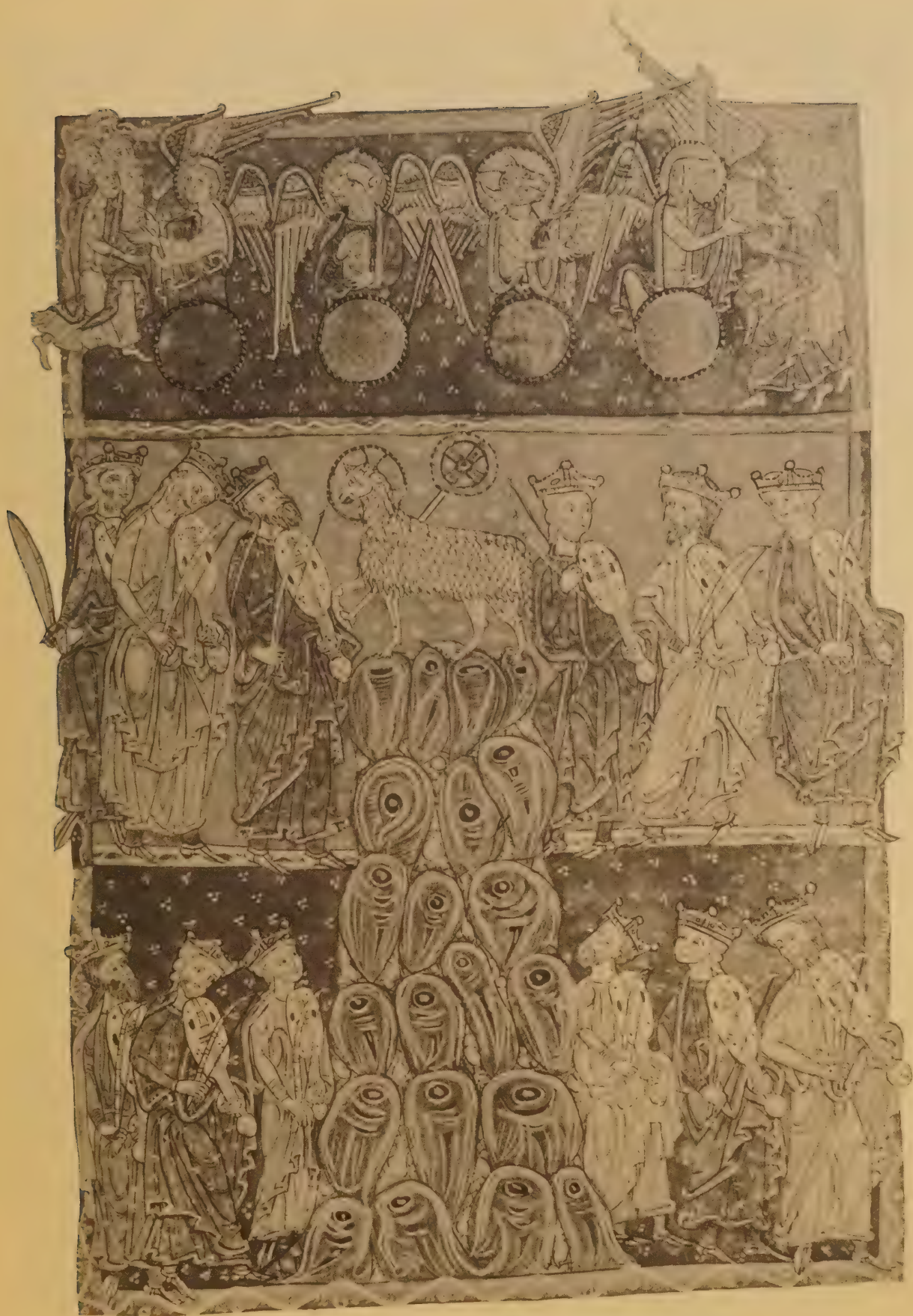


FIG. 15—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page of Beatus Manuscript





FIG. 16—New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Page of Beatus Manuscript



is seated and writes his Gospel at a desk as in the later Morgan Beatus (Fig. 16). The occasional appearance of the formula in Catalonia, as illustrated by our panel, must undoubtedly be regarded as a late survival of the local manuscript style which was subject to influence from the Mozarabic school at the opposite end of the Peninsula.

The lateral compartments of this antependium from Sagars are no less interesting than the central, since this is the earliest preserved panel which portrays the life and acts of St. Andrew, and it exhibits several features seldom found on other antependia. The representation of the tyrant Aegeas with a nimbus, in the two scenes on the left, is unusual, inasmuch as in the later art of western Europe this attribute is usually reserved for the deity, Christ, saints or apostles, as an emblem of holiness.<sup>47</sup> No such distinction was made in antiquity, since the Hellenistic nimbus merely connotes power or authority; it is worn by divinities in Pompeian wall painting and is given indiscriminately to gods, personifications,<sup>48</sup> and rulers.<sup>49</sup> It is significant that most of the Early Christian examples are found in the East, where Hellenistic tradition was stronger, and here the nimbus is given in Christian scenes to very unexpected persons, such as Herod in the scene of the Massacre of the Innocents<sup>50</sup> and Saul in David scenes.<sup>51</sup> The emperor Honorius wears it on the ivory diptych at Aosta,<sup>52</sup> of the early fifth century. This Hellenistic practice persisted in Latin usage as well as in the Orient. In the West the emperors Justinian and Constantine Pogonatus wear the nimbus in mosaics of the sixth and seventh centuries at Ravenna.<sup>53</sup> It is also worn by Herod in the arch mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore of the fifth century<sup>54</sup> and is still worn by divinities in the second Vatican Virgil, which is now ascribed to a Gallic hand of the fifth or sixth century. It must thus be seen that the nimbus used as a mark of distinction and without reference to sanctity is an antique *motif*, persisting where Latin traditions subsisted unimpaired, and its use in our panel is additional evidence of the strength of the late Latin tradition in the Peninsula.

It is instructive to compare the two scenes in our panel in which the apostle appears

*cit.*, in *Nouveaux mélanges*, II, pp. 108–113, reproduction).

47. On the use of the nimbus see Didron, *Christian Iconography*, London, 1851, I, pp. 22 ff.; Ludolf Stephani, *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, VI série, *Sciences, politiques, histoire, philologie*, St. Petersburg, 1859, X, and Adolf Krücke, *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst*, Strassburg, 1905.

48. Coptic fresco, Bawît, Chapel XVIII, personification of Dew (Clédât, *Mem. de l'institut français du Caire*, XII, p. 93, pl. LXVIII; Bawît, Chapel XVII, personification of river god in Baptism of Christ (*ibid.*, pls. XLV, 2); gold encolpium, Golenchow, Collection Dyzalinska, formerly in Rome, sun and moon in the Crucifixion (Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907, I, 2, col. 2994 ff., fig. 1027).

49. Rome, Vatican, lamp, three Hebrews before Neb-

uchadnezzar (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, VI, pl. 476/8).

50. Antinoë, Coptic fresco, fifth to sixth century, (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Antinoë*, 1, 2, fig. 791); Florence, Laurentian Library, Rabula Gospels (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 130/2).

51. Coptic fresco, Bawît, Chapel III, sixth to seventh centuries, David playing before Saul (Clédât, *op. cit.*, pl. XII).

52. Ivory diptych of Probus (406), showing Emperor Honorius, Aosta, cathedral treasury (Émile Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, Paris, 1896, I, p. 17, pl. II).

53. Mosaic, San Vitale, sixth century, Justinian (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 264/1; mosaic, S. Apollinare in Classe, seventh century, Constantine Pogonatus (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 275/2).

54. Mosaic, Rome, S. M. Maggiore, Massacre of the Innocents, Magi before Herod (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pls. 213, 214).

before Aegeas with similar episodes from the life and acts of St. Andrew found on eleventh and twelfth century German monuments. On a page from a Bavarian manuscript (Fig. 21) executed at Freising in the second half of the eleventh century<sup>55</sup> the audience with the proconsul and the incarceration are shown at the bottom of the page in two separate scenes. The episodes are also quite separate in a twelfth century Regensburg manuscript (Fig. 26)<sup>56</sup> where they are divided by a column. On an enameled triptych at Trier<sup>57</sup> the apostle is shown in the presence of Aegeas in one compartment, as in the German miniatures, but the incarceration is omitted. The third scene of the Freising miniature depicts the flagellation of the apostle; in the Trier triptych the audience with Aegeas is followed by two scenes in which St. Andrew cures the blind and preaches to the multitude, and in the Regensburg manuscript, he preaches to the people from prison. In each of these German examples variety is shown in the choice of compositions, whereas in the Catalan panel the arrangement and composition of the second episode is almost identical with the first. In fact, the figures of the enthroned Aegeas and the standing apostle in the lower compartment might have been copied line for line from the corresponding figures in the compartment above. This absence of variety demonstrates a surprising poverty of invention on the part of the Catalan artist.

Of the historical scenes the crucifixion of St. Andrew was most frequently chosen for representation. This subject, however, does not appear during the Early Christian period, since on monuments prior to the ninth century the apostle is usually depicted devotionally, either as a bust or as a standing figure in a group composition with other saints, where he holds a scroll and wears the nimbus and apostolic costume.<sup>58</sup> In the

55. For a discussion of this manuscript see E. F. Bange, *Eine bayerische Malerschule des XI. und XII. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1923, pp. 81–82; fig. 71. I am indebted to Dr. Bange for the photograph reproduced above.

56. Albert Boeckler, *Die Regensburg-Prüfeningener Buchmalerei des XII. und XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1924, p. 50.

57. Von Falke and Frauberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131, pl. 73. The St. Andrew triptych was executed about the year 1155 by Godefroid de Clair. It is also illustrated by Rohault de Fleury (*Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments*, Paris, 1900, X, pl. XLVI), where the iconography can be more easily studied than from the reproduction published by von Falke and Frauberger.

58. Probably the earliest appearance of St. Andrew in Early Christian art where the figure is accompanied by his name inscribed in Greek letters is the fresco of the catacomb of Karmouz, Alexandria, now called the Wescher catacomb, which may date from the fourth century (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, I, 1, coll. 190 ff., 798, 1128, fig. 279). It is not certain, however, whether the inscription is of the same date as the frescoes. Antonio Muñoz has identified St. Andrew in scenes from the life of Christ in the Codex Rossanensis (fol. 1) (Antonio

Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo de Rossano e il frammento sinopense*, Rome, 1906, p. 18; O. von Gebhardt and A. Harnack, *Evangeliorum codex graecus purpureus Rossanensis*, 1880, p. XXXIII, pl. IX). Other early monuments of Christian art in which St. Andrew is represented are: MOSAIC: Rome, S. Agata in Subura, destroyed mosaic (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. VII, p. 46); Ravenna, archbishop's palace, chapel of St. Peter Chrysologus, bust in medallion, inscr. ANDREAS, fifth century (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 224/3; Ravenna, baptistry of S. Vitale, nimbed bust in medallion, inscr. ANDREAS, sixth century (*ibid.*, IV, pl. 259/2); Toulouse, church of the Daurade, standing on the right side of the Saviour, fifth to sixth century, destroyed in 1764, inscr. ANDREAS (Paul Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, pp. 178, 190–194); Rome, chapel of S. Zeno, wears apostolic costume (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, p. 46); MANUSCRIPTS: Florence, Laurentian library, Rabula Gospels, shown with other apostles, 586 A.D. (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, pl. 128/1; TERRA COTTA: Paris, Louvre, ampulla from the vicinity of Smyrna, bust figure holding a book and without nimbus, Greek inscription (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, I, 2, col. 1734, fig. 454); IVORY CARVING: Ravenna, cathedral sacristy, chair of Maximianus, Miracle of the





FIG. 17—Madrid, Bibl. Nac.: Detail from Page of Bible of Avila



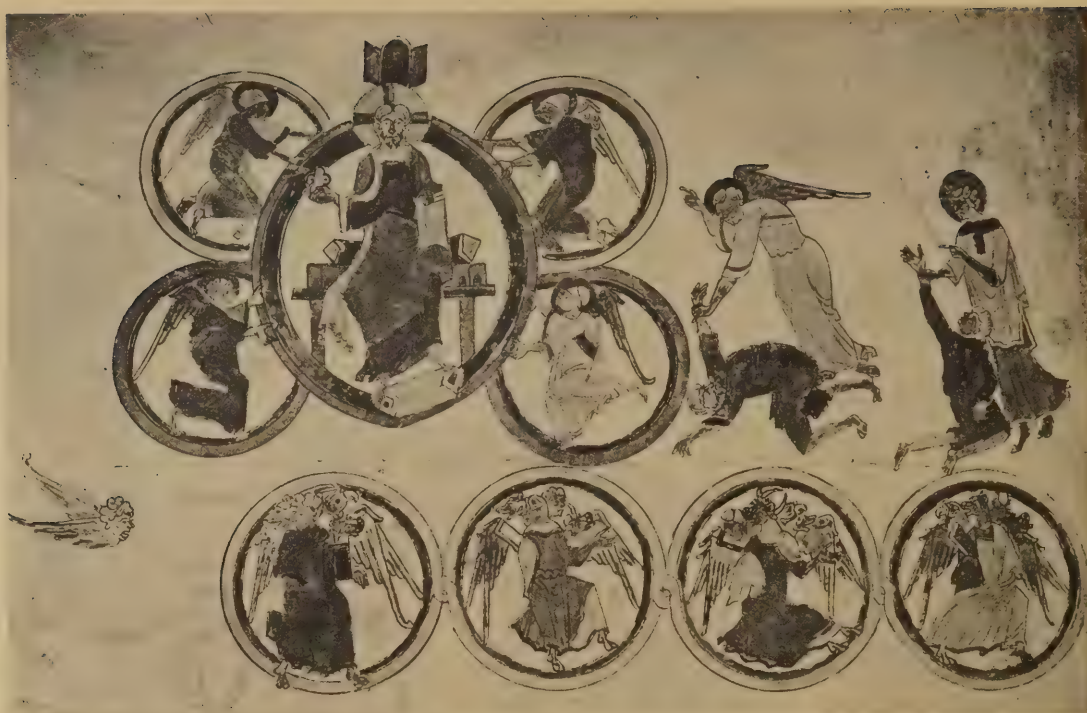


FIG. 18—Rome, Vatican Library: Detail from Page of Bible of Farfa



FIG. 19—Dijon, Municipal Library: Page of Bible of S. Bénigne



ninth century Drogo Sacramentary (Fig. 23), where the crucifixion is shown, the apostle hangs from a Latin cross and is naked except for a loin cloth, thus following the Western tradition. In the East the body is clothed in a *colobium*, a long tunic with or without sleeves, as shown in the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, of the ninth century,<sup>59</sup> and the eleventh century Vatican Menologium,<sup>60</sup> where the saint again hangs from a Latin cross. Occasionally the Eastern method of draping the body was followed in the West, as in the Prüm Gradual of the eleventh century (Fig. 22), but the Western tradition is followed on our panel, where the saint is clothed only in a loin cloth.

The Latin cross (*crux immissa*), which appears on our panel, is almost invariably found in scenes of the crucifixion of St. Andrew during the early Middle Ages. After the thirteenth century the Latin form was replaced by the transverse cross (*crux decussata*), also called the "Burgundian" or "St. Andrew's cross," which assumes the shape of an X.<sup>61</sup> The transverse form appears on a few early monuments which depict the martyrdom of St. Andrew, such as an eleventh century French manuscript from Autun,<sup>62</sup> where the artist has added a vertical bar between the arms of the transverse cross, giving it the appearance of a chrismon, and it is also found in the twelfth century on a capital from St. Pons (Hérault), now at Montpellier (Fig. 24), which shows the martyrdom of St. Pons.<sup>63</sup> In general iconographic usage, however, the Latin form prevailed until the end of the thirteenth century, not only in scenes of the martyrdom of the apostle but also in devotional works, where the saint usually holds a Latin cross,<sup>64</sup>

Loaves and Fishes, c. 500 (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 419/1); Nechanic, Bohemia, Schloss Hradek, Count Harrach Coll., on back of Ada group ivory, holds book and labarum, early ninth century, inscr. ANDREAS (Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. LXXXV); Florence, National Museum, Carrand Coll., handle of ivory flabellum, school of Tours (?), middle ninth century (*ibid.*, I, pl. LXVI, fig. 155a, p. 76); SCULPTURE: Venice, St. Marks, column of ciborium, scene of the Ascension of Christ, holds rotulus, fifth to sixth century (?) (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 498/2; Venturi, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444 ff., figs. 267/9).

59. Paris, Bibl. Nat., Gr. 510, fol. 32 b. A person dressed in a long bluish tunic, who probably represents Aegeas, stands on the right and converses with the saint, who is shown on a Latin cross; on the left at the back is a portico, and the apostle's name is written in Greek characters (Omont, *Fac-similés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la bibliothèque nationale du VIe au XIe siècle*, Paris, 1902, pl. XII, p. 14).

60. Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. XLVII.

61. The *crux decussata* derives its name from its resemblance to the *decussis* or sign of the numeral X, and it also recalls the letter X of the Greek alphabet. St. Jerome says: *decussare est per medium secare, veluti si duae regulae concurrant ad speciem litterae X, quae figura est crucis* (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, III, 2, col. 3061).

62. Paris, Arsenal Library, no. 1169, troaire from Autun, written under king Robert (996–1031) (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. XLVIII).

63. A few other late thirteenth century examples of the transverse cross are illustrated by Fleury (*op. cit.*, X, pl. XLIII, p. 47). St. Peter Chrysologus states that the apostle was fastened to a tree and it is this version which appears to be represented on the eleventh century bronze doors of the church of St. Paul's *f.l.m.* at Rome (*ibid.*, X, pl. V).

64. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries St. Andrew, either seated or standing, often holds a Latin cross. Typical examples are: Moissac, cloister, relief, c. 1100 (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. L); Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. lat. 11580, seated with a large Latin cross (*ibid.*, X, pl. XLVIII); Paris, Arsenal Library, illuminated manuscript, twelfth century, standing with a small cross (*ibid.*, X, pl. LI); Ravello, bronze doors, seated, inscr. ANDREAS (*ibid.*, pl. XII); Monreale, cathedral, bronze door, twelfth century, seated with cross in left hand, inscr. ANDREAS (*loc. cit.*); Zara, cathedral, enamel, thirteenth century, seated (*ibid.*, X, pl. XLV); Rheims, cathedral, stained glass, standing (*ibid.*, X, pl. XL); Limburg, cathedral, fresco, thirteenth century, holds cross and rotulus inscribed ANDREAS (Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 503, pl. XXXIV). The saint usually holds the Latin cross when shown on the façades of northern cathedrals during the thirteenth century (Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle*, p. 363). Frequently the apostle is represented devotionally without the attribute and many examples can be cited during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, viz; Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 8878, Beatus manuscript from St. Sever, holds book,

and only after the year 1300 did the transverse cross come to be regularly employed.<sup>65</sup>

It is expressly stated that St. Andrew was fastened to the cross with cords and these are plainly shown on our altar-frontal. Cords are not employed in the ninth century examples (Drogo Sacramentary, Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus) and nails are seen in the Vatican Menologium, but in the eleventh century Prüm Gradual (Fig. 22), the Freising manuscript (Fig. 21), and on the Trier triptych the feet and hands are bound. In the Regensburg miniature (Fig. 25) two guards are shown in the act of binding the apostle to the cross under the direction of Aegeas, who is enthroned at the right.<sup>66</sup> On our panel Aegeas and the guards are omitted, but they are often present in other examples of the martyrdom. In the Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus Aegeas is the only spectator and he appears to converse with the apostle, who hangs from the cross; in the Vatican Menologium and the Prüm Gradual (Fig. 22) a guard is also included, who stands on the opposite side. A detail which is not omitted by our artist is the light which came from heaven shortly before the death of St. Andrew. This is represented by a series of parallel wavy lines, which converge toward the arms of the cross. The rays of light are also depicted on the Trier triptych.

The figure of the crucified St. Andrew on our panel was undoubtedly modeled after a contemporary work of art which depicted the crucifixion of the Saviour, such as a page from an illuminated manuscript or a crucifix of wood or enamel. Whenever the crucifixion is represented on Western monuments during the early Middle Ages the body of Christ is placed directly on the central axis, the body hangs stiffly in a vertical line and the knees do not bend. This is not only true of the earliest examples, such as the Drogo Sacramentary, the Prüm Gradual, and the Gerona Beatus, but persisted in western Europe during the eleventh century and the early years of the twelfth, as

inscr. ANDREAS (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. XLIX); Autun, Musée lapidaire, stone figure from the tomb of St.-Lazare, holds scroll (Porter, *op. cit.*, pl. 149); Toulouse, Museum, standing statue from the chapter house of St.-Etienne, holds book, twelfth century (*ibid.*, pl. 479); Arles, St.-Trophime, western portal, southern jamb, holds book, twelfth century (*ibid.*, pl. 1373); Santiago de Compostela, cathedral, Puerta de las Platerías, western portal, eastern jamb, holds book, inscr. S. ANDREAS, twelfth century (*ibid.*, pl. 681); Santiago de Compostela, colonnette in convent of Benedictine nuns, twelfth century, inscr. S. ANDREAS (*ibid.*, pl. 705); Orense, cathedral, western porch, northern jamb of southern portal (*ibid.*, pl. 857); Rome, St. Paul's *f.l.m.*, mosaic, thirteenth century, holds scroll, inscr. SCS. ANDREAS (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. VII); Rome, St. John Lateran, mosaic, holds scroll (*ibid.*).

65. For typical examples see Fleury (*op. cit.*, X, pls. XLIII, L-LIV). Northern examples are illustrated by A. Lindblom (*La peinture gothique en Suède et en Norvège*, p. 48, fig. 9; p. 102, pl. 32). In the devotional representations of the fourteenth century St. Andrew

often leans on the transverse cross and holds the Gospel in the right hand. He is usually shown as an old man, often resembling St. Peter, with long flowing hair and beard.

66. Cf. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Perikopenbuch von St. Erentrud, two attendants below tie the feet with rope and two others the arms, and two angels are also shown (Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. LXII, fig. 200); Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter, antiphonarium, two guards hold ends of the rope and a devil speaks into the ear of Aegeas (Lind, *Antiphonarium*, pl. XXII, Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, p. 115). For other examples of the crucifixion of St. Andrew see: Cologne, Maurinusschrein, signed work by Fredericus, c. 1180 (Von Falke, *op. cit.*, pl. 44, p. 41); Siegburg, Westphalia (?), St. Andrew reliquary (*ibid.*, pl. 106, pp. 112, 134); Vercelli, Italy, church of St. Andrew, tympanum (Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII siècle*, p. 274). Scenes from the life and acts of the apostle were represented on a tapestry, dated 1145, now lost, which formerly existed in the abbey of St. Andrew at Worms (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X p. 40).





FIG. 20—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page of Missal from Limoges

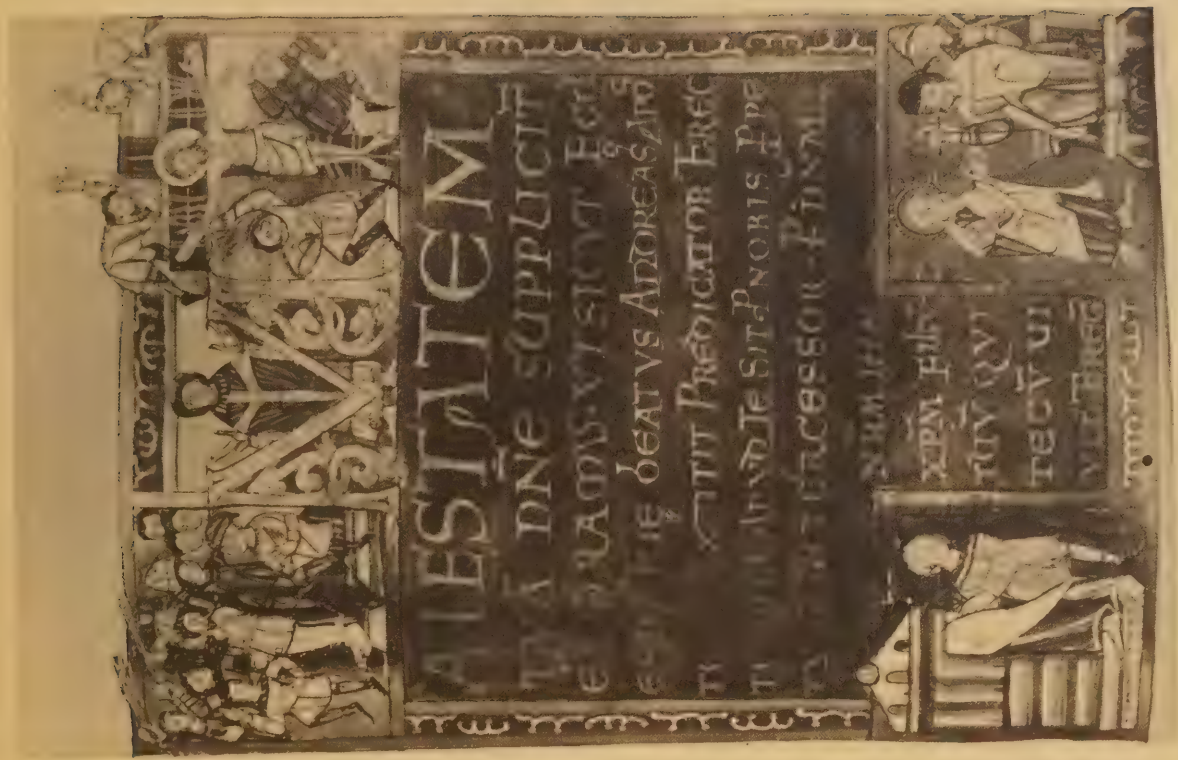


FIG. 21—Munich, State Library: Page of Bavarian Manuscript



FIG. 22—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page of Prüm Gradual



FIG. 23—Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page of Drogo Sacramentary

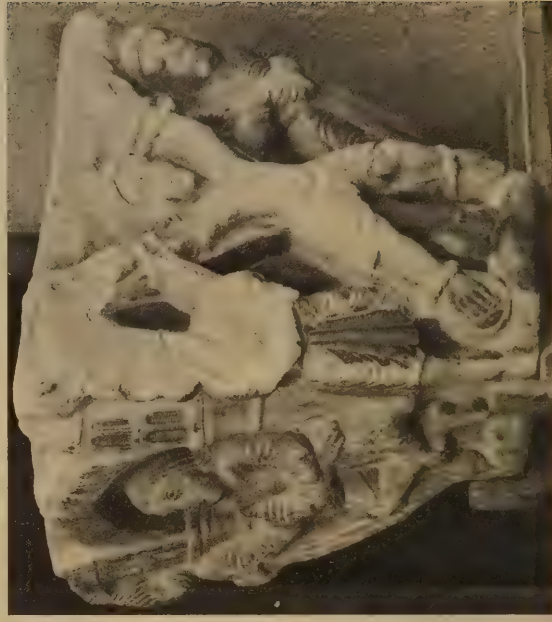


FIG. 24—Montpellier, University: Capital from St. Pons



shown by the Boulogne Psalter, a page from the Catalan missal from Arles-sur-Tech, now at Perpignan (no. 4, fol. 18v.), and an illuminated page at Vich.<sup>67</sup>

During the twelfth century, however, owing to French influence, greater naturalism in the treatment of the body was introduced. In the scene of the crucifixion of the thief on the top of the Arca Santa at Oviedo (Fig. 27), of the first half of the twelfth century, the body bends slightly at the waist and the left knee slightly overlaps the right. On Limoges enamels of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (Fig. 28), this *detente* or asymmetrical treatment of the body is even more pronounced. Wherever, in fact, French influence penetrated during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a more naturalistic rendering appears and in the full Gothic period this results in a heavily drooping head and an S-shaped body with knees bent at a sharp angle.

On a thirteenth century Limoges crucifix at Vich the head is held erect and the eyes are open as in our panel. The knees on this enamel bend slightly but do not overlap. On other thirteenth century Limoges enamels (Fig. 28), however, the body shows a slight bend and the lines of the left leg, which slightly overlaps the right, have the same contour as the body of St. Andrew. The loin cloth worn by the apostle on our panel is longer on the right side of the body and shows a slight outward curve. The folds of the drapery are not clearly delineated but it is obvious that the Catalan artist has sought to reproduce a flying fold similar to that shown on the lower edge of the tunics on a twelfth century antependium in the Barcelona Museum.<sup>68</sup>

The death of Aegeas is frequently omitted from the St. Andrew cycle, but the scene appears in the Regensburg miniature, and it is interesting to compare the German with the Catalan version. The text merely states "ere that Aegeas was come again to his house, he was ravished with a devil by the way, and died tofore them all." In Fig. 25 the tyrant is seated on a throne, and two demons with furry, animal bodies sieze him by the throat and hair, whereas on our panel he is stabbed in the back. The devils are represented with human rather than animal bodies but the heads are depicted as repulsively as possible. Mediaeval devils and evil spirits are commonly represented with long locks, as shown by the two figures above the arms of the cross on the Arca Santa in Fig. 27, the dragon bound in the abyss by the angel in the Gerona Beatus, and the figure of Satan who tempts Christ in the Gerona Homilies of Bede. Both devils on our panel, as well as the guards who sieze the apostle in the two scenes on the left, are portrayed as subnormal creatures with receding foreheads, enormously long noses, and prognathous jaws.<sup>69</sup> It is not unlikely that the artist has intended to portray Moslems, the traditional enemies of Christianity in Spain.

The Adoration of the Cross by St. Andrew does not appear on this panel, although

67. *The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, fig. 6.

68. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

69. Didron, *op. cit.*, II, p. 108ff. The representation of guards and executioners as ugly, subnormal types can be well illustrated by an English psalter of the second

half of the twelfth century, where we see the same large mouths, long noses, and huge jaws (Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1908 pl. 9).

it is frequently represented in other St. Andrew cycles. "And when he was led unto the cross, there ran much people thither saying: The blood of the innocent is damned without cause. And the apostle prayed them that they should not emperish nor let his torment ne martyrdom. And when he saw the cross from afar he saluted it, and said: All hail cross which art dedicate in the body of Jesu Christ, and wert adorned with the members of him, as of precious stones. Tofore that our Lord ascended on thee, thou wert the power earthly, now thou art the love of heaven; thou shalt receive me by my desire. I come to thee surely and gladly as disciple of him that hung on thee. For I have always worshipped thee and have desired thee to embrace. O thou cross which hast received beauty and noblesse of the members of our Lord, whom I have so long desired and curiously loved, and whom my courage hath so much desired and coveted, take me from hence, and yield me to my master, to the end that he may receive me by thee."<sup>70</sup> In the Drogo Sacramentary (Fig. 23) the apostle stands before an upright cross with hands bound and is followed by a group of spectators. In later versions he often kneels, as in the twelfth century Bible of Amiens;<sup>71</sup> where he is shown on his knees and touches the cross with outstretched hands; in the Trier triptych<sup>72</sup> he not only kneels but also embraces the cross, and from above appears the hand of God.

Inasmuch as this panel is one of the earliest monuments of Spanish art to show the life and acts of St. Andrew it is an important document for the history of the cult of this Christian saint. He is represented on another antependium, belonging to the Espona Collection, as a devotional figure and his crucifixion is found on a thirteenth century altar-frontal in the Barcelona Museum. There is, however, no other Romanesque Spanish panel on which so many scenes from his life are shown. His cult had long existed in Spain and as early as the seventh century his relics were revered in the Peninsula.<sup>73</sup> His feast took place in *villa Tarsil*, near Cordova,<sup>74</sup> and the Gothic missal assigns a complete mass to him.<sup>75</sup> A church of St. Andrew existed in the seventh century at Cordova<sup>76</sup> and in the later centuries several Mozarabic churches bore his name.<sup>77</sup> He is the patron saint of Estella in Navarre, and Romanesque churches and chapels were dedi-

70. The Golden Legend, *ed. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

71. Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. LI.

72. *Ibid.*, pl. XLVI.

73. As early as 652 at Guadix, to the east of Granada (Fita, *Boletín*, XXVIII, 1896, pp. 403-412, Hübner, *I. H. C.*, p. 56, no. 175).

74. According to the Calendar of Cordova (961) (*et in ipso est Latinis festum apostoli Andree martyris, interfecti in ciuitate Patras, ex regione Achagie, de terra Romanorum. Et festum eius est in uilla Tarsil filii Mugbisa*) (D. Marius Ferotin, *Le liber ordinum*, Paris, 1904, col. 489).

75. Several parts of the mass, such as the preface and the *collectio ad pacem*, were taken from the Spanish Acts or from the book of the miracles of St. Andrew, and he is also mentioned in the *Liber Comicus*. The Mozarabic liturgy also borrows freely from the Acts of

the saint, especially in the *Missa, Oratio, Illatio*, and *Post pridie* (Cabrol, *op. cit.*, I, 2, coll. 2033-2034).

76. Hübner, *I. H. C.*, p. 73.

77. One of the earliest preserved is the ninth century Asturian church of S. Andrés de Bedriñana (Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 83). The church of S. Andrés de Arguterio, province of Astorga, was mentioned in 946, and the church of El Vierzo, a parish of Astorga, was constructed to receive the relics of St. Andrew, given by Alfonso III, who died in 910. A parish church at Trobe, near Santiago de Compostela, contains the tomb of a bishop of Coimbra, who died in 912. A church of St. Andrew existed in the tenth century at Leon, and Madoz cites an ancient sanctuary in the province of Leon, founded by St. Gennadius in 896. At Toledo a Moorish mosque was transformed into a Christian church dedicated to the saint, which was burned in 1150 (Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pp. 42-43).



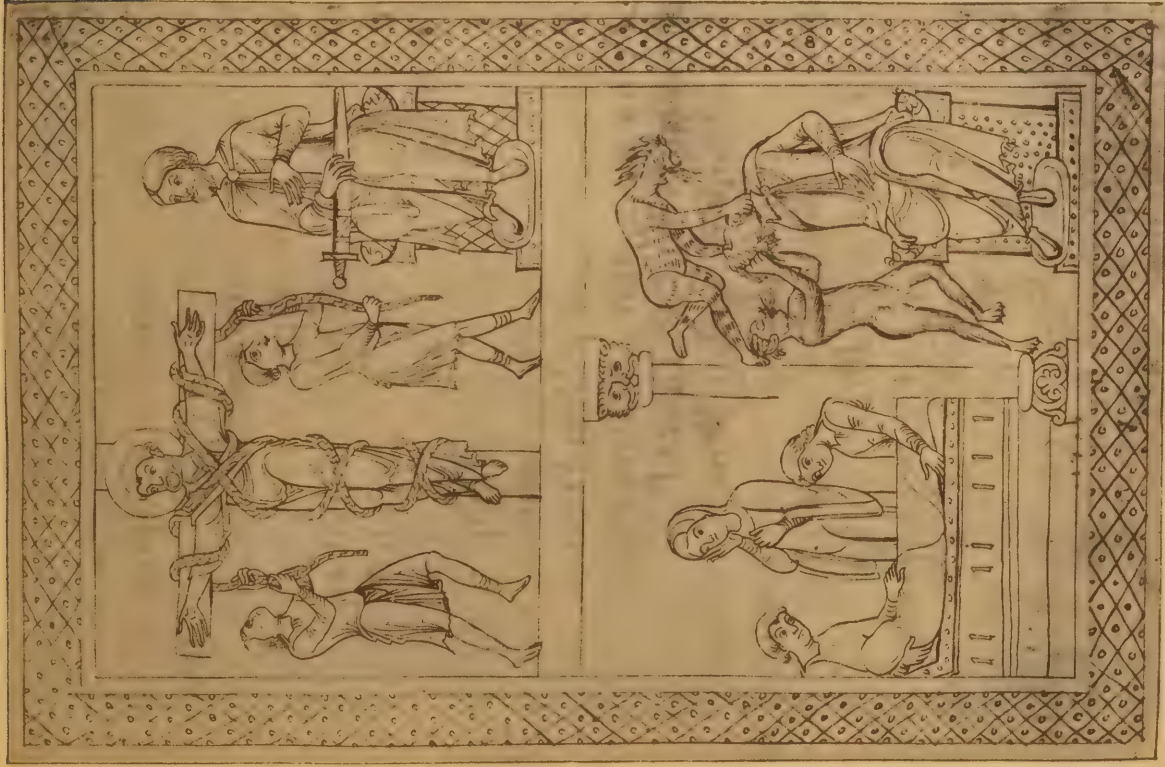


FIG. 25—Munich, State Library: Page of Regensburg  
Manuscript

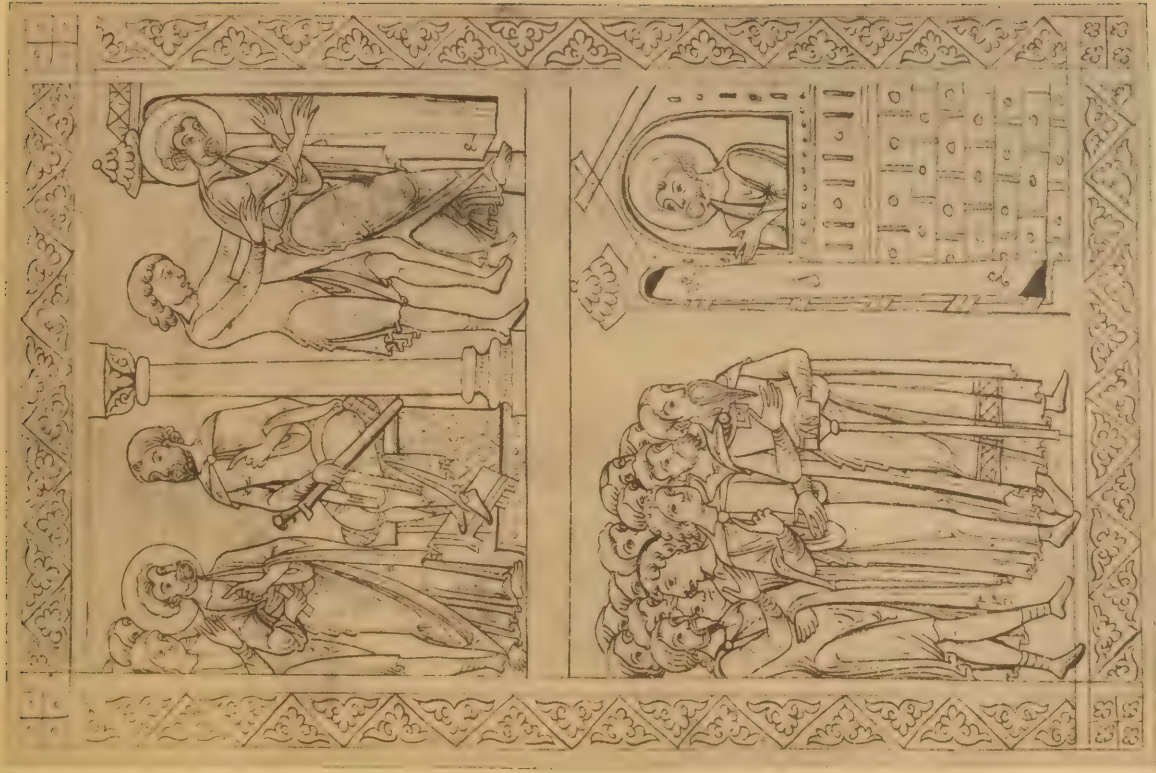


FIG. 26—Munich, State Library: Page of Regensburg  
Manuscript



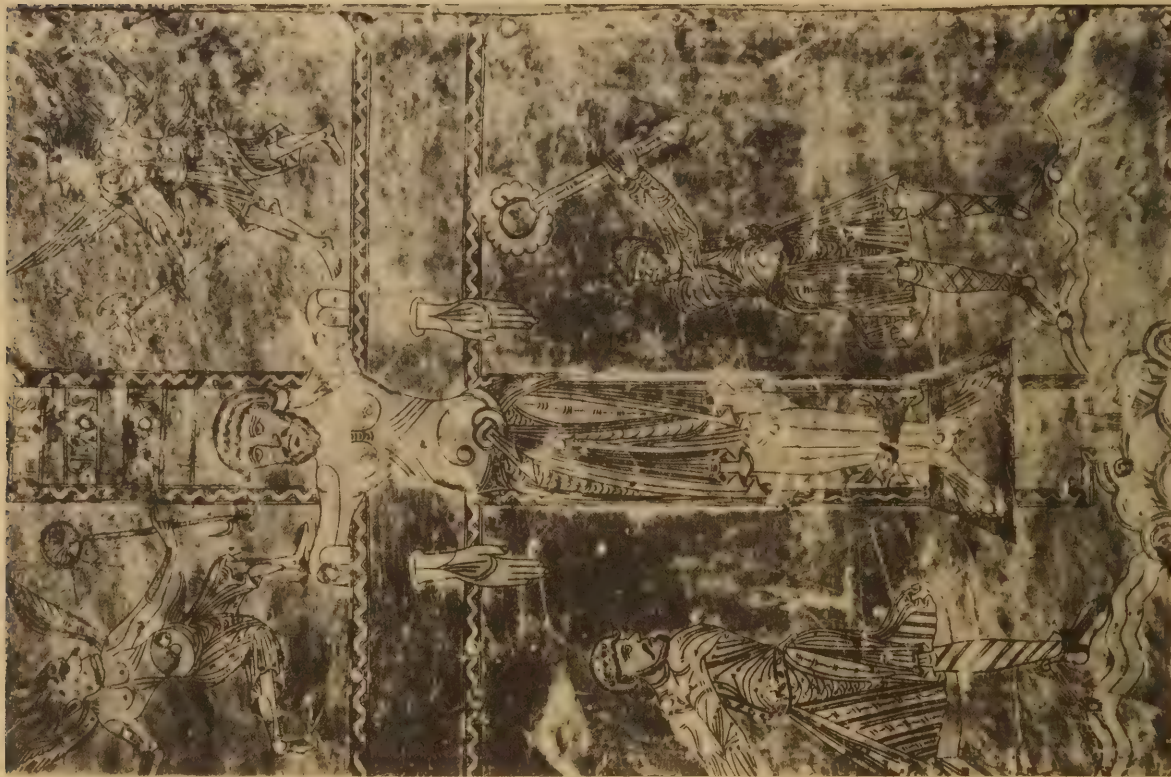


FIG. 27—Oviedo, Cathedral: Detail of Arca Santa (Photo. Mas)

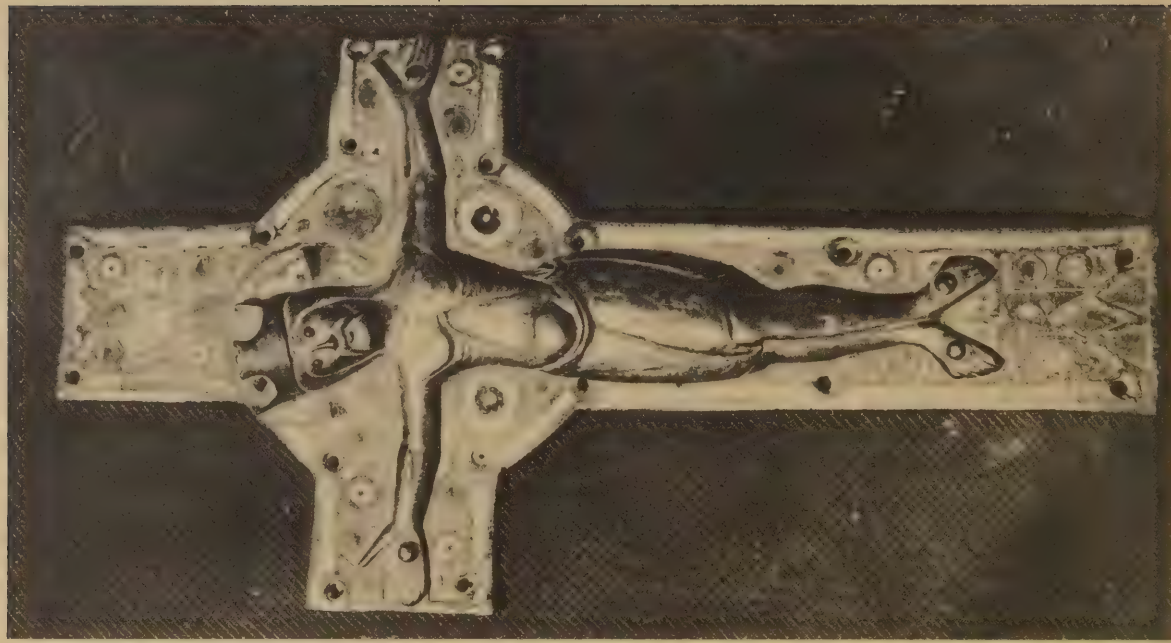


FIG. 28—Vich, Episcopal Museum: Limoges Crucifix



cated to him at Avila, Oviedo, and Segovia, and seven churches in the province of Orense.<sup>78</sup> His cult was introduced early into Catalonia, where no less than three foundations bearing his name are mentioned in the ninth century, including the famous church of Sant Andreu de Sureda, and others are recorded in the tenth and succeeding centuries.<sup>79</sup> St. Andrew was always numbered among the first four apostles<sup>80</sup> and after his martyrdom during the reign of Nero (A.D. 60) his cult spread throughout Europe. The Greek church celebrated his feast (November 30) in the fourth century, after the removal of the apostle's body to the imperial basilica of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople,<sup>81</sup> and a century later he was honored by the church of Rome. The first sanctuary dedicated to him in Italy was the basilica of Junius Bassus (c. 317) and at Ravenna St. Peter Chrysologus (433–450) constructed a monastery bearing the name of St. Andrew, who was represented in mosaic over the entrance.<sup>82</sup> St. Gregory the Great, who converted his paternal home into a monastery of St. Andrew, also celebrated the apostle's martyrdom. He was widely revered in France,<sup>83</sup> where he is the patron saint of Agde, Avranches, Bordeaux, and Burgundy;<sup>84</sup> his cult spread early to the British Isles and Germany and he is the titular saint of Scotland and Russia.<sup>85</sup>

78. *Loc. cit.*

79. Sant Andreu de Sureda was mentioned in a document of 820–825, the monastery of Centelles, or Trespunts in 839, the church of Sant Andreu de la Greixa in 872, and the monastery of Sant Andreu d'Eixalada in 879. Later establishments dedicated to the apostle are the monastery of Sant Andreu de Planés (993), Sant Andreu de Sagars, eleventh century, Sant Andreu de Laorto (1115), Sant Andreu *inter Pontons* (1115), Sant Andreu de la Manresana (1128) (Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, II–III, *passim*).

80. He was a disciple of St. John the Baptist, whose testimony led him and John the Evangelist to follow Jesus. He was later chosen as one of the twelve apostles and was present at the miraculous feeding of the five thousand. He is not named in the acts except in the list of the apostles, where the order of the first four is Peter, John, James, Andrew. When the apostles went forth to preach the Gospel, Andrew took an important part. According to Nicephorus he preached in Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, in the land of the anthropophagi, in the Scythian deserts, and later in Byzantium, Thrace, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Achaia.

81. At the capture of Constantinople by the French in the early thirteenth century the relics of St. Andrew were scattered. Many of them were brought to Italy by Cardinal Peter of Capua, who deposited them in the cathedral of Amalfi.

82. His name does not appear in the earliest church calendars. Pope Simplicius chose St. Andrew as patron for a new church at Rome and soon after this Symmachus converted the *Vestiarium Neronis* into a basilica called *Sancti Andreae ad Crucem*. Another early building in Rome which bore the apostle's name was a rotunda, employed as a mausoleum, which was attached to the Vatican. A monastery at Pistoia, founded in the

eight century, and another at Florence (c. 800) were dedicated to him. For a discussion of other foundations in Italy see Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *Les saints de la messe et leurs monuments*, Paris, 1900, X, pp. 3–16.

83. The cross of St. Andrew was brought to St.-Victor of Marseilles at the beginning of the fifth century by Stephen, king of the Burgundians, and a chapel was dedicated to him at Nantes from the year 404. For a discussion of the foundations in France, where there are more than a hundred basilicas which bear his name, see Fleury (*op. cit.*, pp. 17–28).

84. When the relics of the apostle were dispersed after the capture of Constantinople in the thirteenth century all Christendom sought to obtain portions of them, which created a lively enthusiasm for the saint. Philip of Burgundy (1433), who obtained at great cost a portion of the precious relics, placed his new order of chivalry, the Order of the Golden Fleece under the protection of this saint, and his knights wore as their badge the cross of St. Andrew.

85. St. Andrew was especially revered in England, where there are more than six hundred dedications to him, and his popularity surpasses even that of Sts. James, John, and Paul. Two of the earliest churches in England, Rochester cathedral and Hexham abbey, were dedicated to St. Andrew. Rochester cathedral was dedicated by St. Augustine, who came to England on his mission from the monastery of St. Andrew on the Caelian hill at Rome, and the monastery of Hexham was consecrated by St. Wilfred (674). See also Fleury (*op. cit.*, X, pp. 29–34).

The abbey of St. Andrew at Worms existed from the eighth century; the church of St. Andrew at Hildesheim from the tenth century, and the Empress Adelaide founded a convent (992–994) under the Benedictine rule which bore his name. He is the patron of entire

Many archaistic or *retardataire* features have been noted in the style of this panel, but the date is fairly well advanced. The figures in the side compartments wear short tunics cut high above the knees, or long robes which fall in heavy, straight folds to the feet. These drapery mannerisms, together with the lack of movement and the angular treatment of the folds around the feet, are found on earlier Spanish monuments. The tunic with wide sleeves and the mantle of the Saviour in the central compartment suggest analogies with Limoges enamels, and we have noted the close resemblance in style between the body and the drapery of St. Andrew on the cross and the Limoges crucifixes of the thirteenth century. The scene of the martyrdom on our panel is probably earlier than that shown on the enamels, but in view of the palaeography, especially the forms of the letters A, D, E, G in the inscription, our altar-frontal should be dated no earlier than 1200.

(9) THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT PANEL FROM SAGARS

The first of the fragmentary side panels which formerly hung with the St. Andrew antependium from Sagars and are now in the Episcopal Museum at Solsona represents in two registers a scene from Genesis and the Passion of Christ (Fig. 29).<sup>86</sup> The upper register shows the Fall of Man in one compartment and in the adjoining compartment the Betrayal of Christ and the Descent from the Cross; the lower register contains the Entry into Jerusalem.

In the upper left compartment Adam and Eve stand on either side of the Tree of Knowledge. Eve, on the left, takes the fruit from the mouth of the serpent; Adam, on the right, gazes at the serpent and strokes his beard with his right hand. Both have red hair, are nude, and cover themselves with green fig leaves. The tree and serpent are green.

In the scene of the Betrayal two guards, clad in short green tunics, hold the arms of the Saviour, and Judas, approaching from behind, kisses Him on the cheek. Two additional figures, apparently guards, stand in the background. Christ wears a crossed nimbus and long white tunic underneath an orange-red mantle. The guard on the right wears a conical green cap.

In the Descent from the Cross Joseph of Arimathea stands on the left and supports

provinces, such as Schleswig-Holstein and Luxembourg (*ibid.*, pp. 36-40). His relics are still preserved in a tenth century portable altar, work of the Egbert atelier (977-993), now at Trier (Von Falke, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 124, pl. 5; Fleury, *op. cit.*, X, pl. XLVI).

Relics of the saint were brought to Scotland in the fourth century and he is the patron saint of its chief order of knighthood.

The Russians believe that St. Andrew was the first to preach to the Muscovites, and the chief order of Russia, the Cross of St. Andrew, was founded by Peter the Great in the year 1698.

86. Solsona, Episcopal Museum, no. 2; tempera on panel; 0.825 x 0.945 m.; photograph by Arxiv "Mas,"

no. 5737 C. The ends of the panel have been cut and a square piece is missing from the lower right corner. The ornament on the lower frame is in poor condition but otherwise the drawing is well preserved. This side panel, together with the companion piece showing scenes from the life of the Virgin, was found, as stated at the beginning of this article, in the church at Sagars by Dr. Jaume Serra i Vilaró. Muñoz erroneously states that both side panels are now at Vich and that they came from the town of Cardona (Antonio Muñoz, *Pittura romanica catalana, I paliotti dipinti dei Musei di Vich e di Barcellona*, in *Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Anuari*, Barcelona, 1907, I, p. 112, fig. 18).



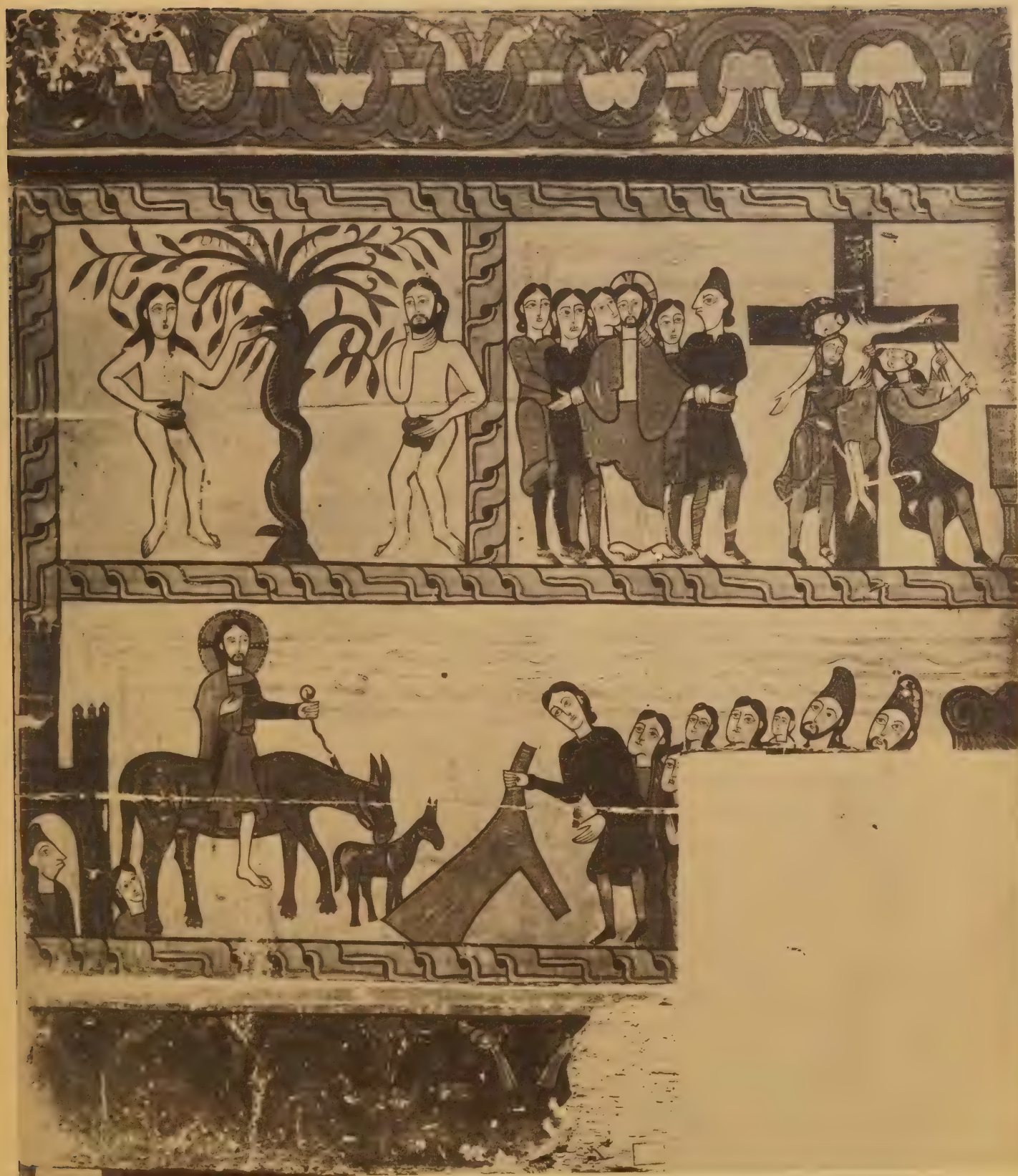


FIG. 29—Solsona, Episcopal Museum: Side Panel of St. Andrew Antependium from Sagars  
(Photo. Mas)

the lifeless body of Christ. The head, encircled by a crossed nimbus with white dots, droops low and rests on Joseph's head, and the free right arm of the Saviour lies limply across his right shoulder. The body is nude with the exception of an orange-red loin cloth reaching to the knees. Nicodemus, on the right, extracts the nail from the left hand with a long pair of pincers. Joseph wears a light green tunic and orange-red hose and Nicodemus a dark green tunic with orange sleeves. All three figures are bearded. The cross is red and above the Saviour's head the anagram I H S is inscribed in white letters.

The right side of the panel has been cut and nothing remains of the scene adjacent to the Descent from the Cross except the end of a green sarcophagus which was supported by short columns. The position indicates that the missing scene was the Entombment of the Saviour. The scene shown originally directly beneath the Entombment in the lower register has also been lost, but it is highly probable that it represented the Three Maries at the Tomb. The green object which can still be seen on the lower right corner resembles the spiral joint of an angel's wing. The angel must have faced toward the right and the Three Maries were probably represented as approaching from the extreme right.

The remaining section of the lower register contains the Entry into Jerusalem. The Saviour, bearded and wearing a crossed orange nimbus, rides astride. He is clad in a green tunic and an orange-red mantle which is looped up over the right arm. He holds the reins in the left hand and does not make the usual sign of the benediction with the right. The foal walks slightly in advance of the dark green ass. A beardless figure, dressed in a short green tunic, holds by the sleeve an orange-red tunic, which he throws under the feet of the ass. Directly behind this figure stand a group of seven people, two of whom are bearded and wear tall green caps. The city of Jerusalem with crenelated towers and open portal is shown on the extreme left. Outside the city walls appear the busts of two spectators, one of whom wears a pointed green cap.

The ornament of this panel shows many analogies with that of the antependium from the front of the altar. The plain neutral brown backgrounds are treated in the second and third compartments with a series of straight lines, alternating with wavy lines. This is similar to that found on the lateral scenes of the St. Andrew antependium (Figs. 3-6) and appears on other antependia as well as in Catalan manuscripts.<sup>87</sup> The interrupted spiral rope pattern, which surrounds and separates the individual scenes, is also similar to that shown on the frame of the preceding work. Inasmuch as this panel was placed at the side of the altar the frame was omitted at both ends. The top and bottom, however, have the conventional frame, the bevel of which is painted dark brown. The foliate ornament on the surface of the frame, which is similar at top and bottom, consists of a series of acanthus palmettes enclosed within tangent medallions. The lower

87. José Pijoan, *Miniatures españolas en manuscritos de la biblioteca vaticana*, in *Escuela española*, Madrid, I, 1912, fig. 3a.



frame has been cut and is in such a poor state of preservation that the ornament can hardly be seen, but on the upper frame the *motif* can be clearly distinguished. The different elements of the acanthus pattern are painted in alternate colors of orange, red, green, and white, and white bands bind together the continuous series of tangent medallions. On the left end of the frame the stems of the acanthus, which grow outside the medallion, point upward, and on the right side the *motif* is reversed and the stems point downward. This disposition of the design is useful since it enables us to determine how much of the panel has been cut away on the right side. The original length of the panel can be estimated as approximately 1.10 meters, and this clearly shows that not more than one scene in each register has been lost.

Close similarities with the St. Andrew antependium are also shown in the figure style. There is the same lack of characterization in the faces. Christ is always depicted with a red beard, and all the figures have red hair which frequently ends above the shoulders in a curl. The limitations of the artist are revealed by the awkward rendering of the human figure: the attitudes are stiff, the legs and arms are not well articulated and the knees are shaky. All the figures lack weight and equilibrium. In the Descent from the Cross Nicodemus looks upward but his head is turned to one side at an angle of ninety degrees. The guard who seizes Christ in the scene of the Betrayal has the same ugly features as those of the guards in the preceding work and there is the same treatment of the eye, which is drawn in full face on a head shown in profile. The anatomical rendering of the ass and foal are equally unnatural; they are lifeless and stand like stuffed toy animals or cardboard silhouettes.

The drapery style also is similar to that of the altar-frontal. The tunic and mantle of Christ in the scene of the Betrayal is worn in the same manner as that of St. Andrew in the two scenes in which the apostle appears before Aegeas. With the exception of Adam and Eve and Christ, all the figures wear the same type of short tunic with long sleeves, hose and sandals. The hose which are worn like puttees, wound with cords or straps (*correas*), are found on other Romanesque monuments and are an inheritance from the Visigothic and Mozarabic period.<sup>88</sup> The pointed green cap, worn by some of the figures, is similar in shape to that worn by the jailer who blows the oliphant in the preceding panel. This type of headdress may possibly be a late survival of the Phrygian cap found on Early Christian monuments. It is similar in shape to the national Catalan cap which is still worn by the peasants of eastern Spain, but the artist has undoubtedly intended to reproduce here only the conical helmets which were common in Europe during the Romanesque period.

#### (10) THE VIRGIN PANEL FROM SAGARS

The second of the side panels which formerly hung with the St. Andrew altar-frontal from Sagars represents in two registers five scenes from the life of the Virgin (Fig. 30),<sup>89</sup>

88. África León Salmerón and J. Natividad de Piego, *Indumentaria española*, Madrid, 1915, p. 67.

89. Solsona, Episcopal Museum, no. 1; tempera on panel; 0.83 x 0.945 m.; photograph by Arxiv "Mas," no.

some of which are incomplete. Originally the upper register contained the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity; and in the lower register were the Magi before Herod and the Adoration of the Magi.

The Annunciation was shown in the upper left compartment, but more than half the scene has been lost. The Virgin stands on the right, with one hand held against her breast and the other outstretched toward the angel Gabriel, now missing. She wears a dark green mantle and an orange-red gown and headdress of the same color. The green halo is decorated with a wavy yellow line. From a dark green cloud in the upper right corner issues the head of an angel, who is represented with red hair and an orange nimbus. The background of this compartment, as shown by the others, originally contained alternate red and yellow squares.

In the scene of the Visitation the Virgin and Elizabeth are shown directly on the central axis, with arms about each other's necks. One of the women, on the left, wears an orange dress and dark green mantle which envelops the head, the other, a green dress and orange mantle.

In the Nativity the Virgin lies on a high, four-poster bed, and is completely covered by a large, blue-green robe with an orange border. She wears a white headdress and has no nimbus. The two-year-old Child, placed directly above on a small cot, with no visible means of support, is depicted with red hair and a yellow crossed nimbus. He is wrapped in an orange robe, and above the cot appear the heads of the ox and ass. Joseph, seated on the right, leans his head on his left hand. He is represented with a beard, long pale green hair, and a dark green tunic. Above his head an angel with white wings and an orange nimbus issues from a cloud.

Owing to the mutilation of the left side of the panel nothing remains of the left scene of the lower register except the head and shoulders of a guard. Inasmuch as the guard adjoins the other Magi it is highly probable that the missing scene portrayed the Three Magi before Herod. The guard is shown with brown hair and beard and wears an orange tunic. He holds a spear with both hands and looks backward over his right shoulder.

The remaining section of the lower register is occupied with the Adoration of the Magi. The Virgin, shown in a strictly frontal position on the extreme right is seated on a high throne with a bolster. She wears a white nimbus, orange headdress and tunic, and a dark green mantle which terminates at the bottom in large folds. Between her knees she holds the Saviour, who blesses with the right hand and holds a Book of the Gospels in the left. He is depicted with a crossed nimbus, the crosses of which are red, and is clad in a white tunic and green mantle. A large miraculous star is placed directly above the Virgin's right shoulder. The Three Magi approach on the left in single file. The first two are bearded and carry large vases in veiled hands; the third is beardless



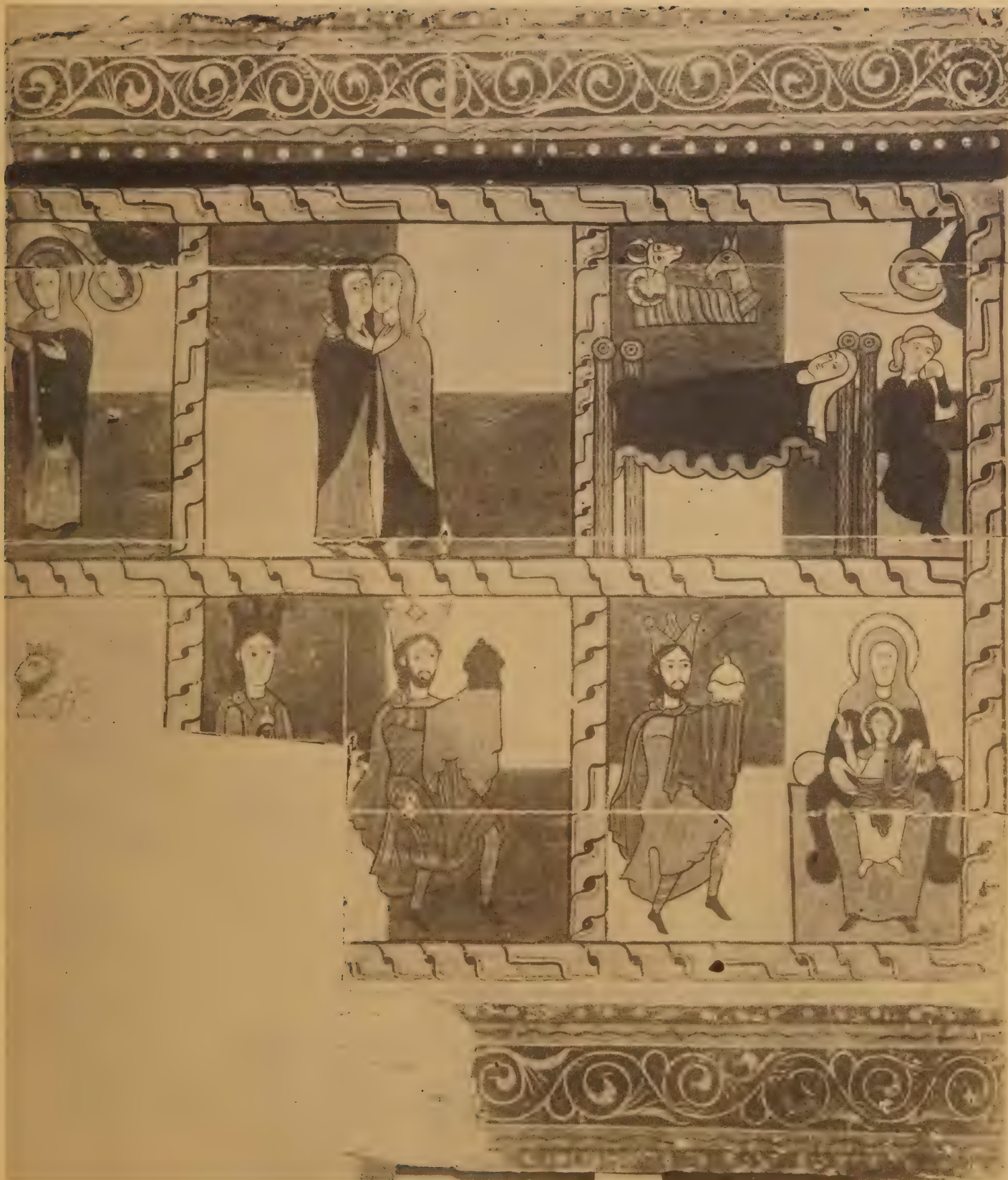


FIG. 30—Solsona, Episcopal Museum: Side Panel of St. Andrew Antependium from Sagars (Photo. Mas)

and holds a small ointment phial. All wear large, three-pointed crowns. The first figure is clad in a long orange tunic or notched chiton, a green mantle, and orange hose wrapped around the legs like spiral puttees. He has dark red hair and beard and carries a white vase. The second is dressed exactly like the first except that the mantle and crown are orange-red and the tunic and vase are green. The lower part of the third figure is missing but the head and shoulders are intact. He wears a dark green crown, a green mantle, and orange tunic.

The ornament is clearly similar to that of the St. Andrew altar-frontal, where we have already noted the same checkerboard background of alternate red and yellow rectangles. The division of the composition into compartments by means of an interrupted spiral rope pattern is similar to that found in Fig. 29 and like the preceding panel a wide frame is shown at the top and bottom, the bevel of which is dark red. The surface of the frame is embellished with a white foliate scroll on a dark red ground. This is bordered on either side by narrow violet stripes with a wavy red line and green stripes with a row of white dots.

The style of this panel is identical with that of the two preceding works, where we find figures with the same short stature. The feminine costume, with long tunic and mantle covering the head, is analogous to that shown in the St. Andrew altar-frontal. The guard in the scene of the Magi before Herod has the same standing hair and ugly features which we have already noted in the previous two panels, and the Magi are represented with the same red beard and long hair ending in a curl above the shoulders. In fact, the close similarity in color, ornament, figure and drapery style show clearly that all three panels from the church of Sagars were executed by the same artist. That artist, as we have concluded above, could have done the work no earlier than 1200.



# LEONESQUE ROMANESQUE AND SOUTHERN FRANCE

By A. KINGSLEY PORTER

THE reputation of Don Manuel Gómez-Moreno has preceded his writing. For two decades now his name has been on everyone's lips, and was at a time when many who spoke of him had never read a word from his pen, nor laid eyes on his inaccessible person. The source of this fame was, of course, the deep impression he made upon the few who did know him. Rumors of the fabulous material he had collected, of the accuracy and brilliance of his scholarship, of his incredible discoveries reached the most remote corners of the world of scholarship.

But for a long time he published little. Articles appeared chiefly in periodicals not easily procurable outside of Spain. These articles were of fine quality, and foreshadowed the stature of the man; but they hardly accounted for his mysterious and ever growing reputation. His name in the world of learning became a sort of myth—the strangest tales were whispered of his uncanny knowledge, of what was contained in his collection of photographs, which no one had ever seen, of what he could tell if he had a mind to. Students who consulted him on no matter what subject always came away with their pockets full of priceless nuggets of information. His became a sort of magician's figure, colorful as that of no other scholar in this prosaic age, having about it something strangely Eastern and impenetrable, superhuman, Klingsor-like. And the less he wrote, the less he was seen, the more his invisible influence was felt in the archaeological thought of two continents.

Then came the publication of the *Iglesias Mozárabes*, which at once took its place among archaeological classics. The book was more than a successful vindication of the Visigothic thesis against the attacks which had been made upon it; it was the definitive and well-nigh perfect presentation of one of the most interesting fields which exist in the history of art; it made clear for the first time the importance of the Moorish elements in Spanish and in other European architecture and painting; and it revealed the aesthetic beauty of Mozarabic art, hitherto hardly suspected. Above all, it laid on the archaeological table documents of which no one can afford to be ignorant. The imprint of the book upon the world of scholarship was immediately profound and will abide.

Now appears a new book which by those who know will perhaps be prized even above the *Iglesias Mozárabes*.<sup>1</sup> It is published in the unexpected form of a catalogue of

1. Manuel Gómez-Moreno, *Provincia de León*.

*Catalogo Monumental de España*, Madrid, Ministerio de Instrucción Publica, 1925, 2 vols., 8vo.

the works of art in the province of Leon. As such it continues a series of inventories of the Spanish provinces published under government auspices, begun without conspicuous success. On opening the book one is in doubt whether it is intended as a guide for the traveler or as a list designed to regulate the exportation of antiquities.

It is only on close reading that one becomes aware of the archaeological material which is concealed beneath a prosaic exterior. As we turn the pages we receive shock after shock; one after another, unknown monuments of international importance are published, concisely, but accurately and adequately; the author scarcely betrays that he is aware of the significance of what he is making known; he gives the facts and leaves the scholarly world to whistle.

The precise meaning of these facts it will undoubtedly be one of the chief occupations of mediaeval archaeology of the next decade to decide. They portend a fundamental change in the philosophy of the history of art of the eleventh century. It is still too soon to foresee the exact orientation the future will take, although I fancy the general drift is clear enough; for precise bearings we must await the companion volume the same author has in preparation on the province of Oviedo; and even that will not be enough; we must know Castile and Galicia and Navarre and all the other provinces of Spain as we now know Leon. For the country is still full of unpublished monuments. When we see what has escaped observation in Leon we wonder what surprises may be in store elsewhere.

Certain consequences of the utmost significance for the history of art may, however, I think be safely inferred even from a first and hasty reading of the new catalogue. It is to some of these in the Romanesque field alone—the book covers everything from prehistoric to modern times—that I wish to call attention in this paper.

First of all, it seems certain that there existed at Leon in the eleventh century a center of art of far greater importance than has been supposed. One suspects indeed that Leon was the artistic focus of Spain—to sculpture and painting and architecture what Castile was to literature. And one even suspects that it was the artistic focus of considerably more than Spain.

It would now seem to be certain that the best Spanish Romanesque ivories were made at Leon. The treasure of S. Isidoro alone contained an unrivaled collection—the cross of S. Fernando, the casket of the Beatitudes, the reliquary of St. John, and other works which have perished. As these were made under the patronage of the court, there is every reason to believe that the atelier was in the capital.

Miniatures of the reign of Fernando I show the same extraordinary beauty. The *Diurno* now in the library of Santiago, executed in 1055, is a masterpiece of the first importance and perhaps the earliest Romanesque monument in Spain.

The significance of Leon in building does not seem to have been less. Gómez-Moreno has untangled the involved chronology of two puzzling churches of the first class. One



is the abbey of S. Benito at Sahagún, the other S. Isidoro at Leon. The eleventh century portions of the latter are the Panteón (except the frescoes) and the oldest parts of the nave including the side-aisle portal and its sculptures. If this be granted, and I think that Gómez-Moreno's argument compels that it be, we must concede Leon hegemony in architecture and sculpture as in the other arts.

It appears equally certain that the silverwork was of a high order. The great masterpiece is of course the inner arca of S. Isidoro, which is not shown and has never been photographed. The only reproduction available is one inaccurately drawn figure published by Carderera.<sup>2</sup> Gómez-Moreno gives us a description, which is something, and, what is more, the assurance that it is by the same hand that executed the Arca Santa of Oviedo. This information is of great comfort; the Leon arca being surely dated in the eleventh century, the early date of the Oviedo monument already indicated by overwhelming documentary evidence<sup>3</sup> is confirmed.

I have tried to point out elsewhere the significance of Spanish ivories of the eleventh century.<sup>4</sup> Not only is it a striking fact that this art was practiced in high perfection in Spain at a time when it was unknown in France, but it is evident that in Spanish ivories of the eleventh century are already to be found most of the characteristics which have been claimed as original inventions of the sculptors of Toulouse in the twelfth century. I based my argument for the importance of Spanish ivories of the eleventh century chiefly on the cross of S. Fernando of 1063, now in the Madrid Museum but formerly at S. Isidoro of Leon,<sup>5</sup> and on the arca of S. Millán, at S. Millán de la Cogolla, of about 1070.<sup>6</sup>

2. Valentin Carderera y Solano, *Iconografía española*, Madrid, Campuzano, 1855-1864, 2 vols., folio, pl. I, A.

3. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, Boston, Marshall Jones, 1922, I, p. 35.

4. *Ibid.*, I, p. 37.

5. *Ibid.*, I, p. 39. Illustrated in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 2, fig. 13.

6. This arca has usually been dated 1030 or 1053; in my *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads* (I, p. 38) I ascribed it correctly to the third quarter of the eleventh century, having been put on my guard by Professor Goldschmidt. At that time I had not had access either to the original ivories or to the important description by Prudencio de Sandoval (*Las fundaciones de las monasterios del glorioso padre San Benito*, Madrid, Sanchez, 1601, 4to). The evidence now in my hands, although singularly complex and contradictory, seems to make it certain that the arca was executed about 1070. Since these data have never been brought together it may be well to resume them here.

There is an old and bitter controversy as to whether the S. Millán whose relics are preserved in the monastery of Cogolla or the S. Millán whose relics are preserved in Aragon is to be identified with the S. Millán whose biography was written by S. Bráulio. It is at any rate certain that the eleventh century arca of S. Millán in the Castilian monastery is decorated with ivory re-

liefs inspired by the life by S. Bráulio. We owe to that circumstance the good fortune that a long and detailed description of the arca was published by Sandoval at the beginning of the seventeenth century, long before it was dismantled by the French under Napoleon.

The primary source for our knowledge of the events which bear upon the history of the arca in the eleventh century is an account of the translation of the relics of the saint known as *De Translatione reliquiarum Bti. Emiliani*, printed in *España Sagrada* (L, 365) and preserved in the Real Academia de Historia of Madrid together with many other precious documents of the library of Cogolla (there are also a number of parchments and papers in the Archivo Nacional). The account was written by a monk of Cogolla named Fernando considerably after the events to which it refers. It is not certain that the abbot John to whom the work is dedicated is the one who held office in 1118; the editors of *España Sagrada* think the work may be as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The chronological notes contain certain errors. The account records the tradition in the abbey concerning the events connected with the translation of the saint and deserves credit when not contradicted by more authentic documents.

According to this *Translatio* the tomb of S. Millán remained untouched in the Iglesia de Susu until 1030 when it was revealed to certain religious men that the

Now the treasure of S. Isidoro of Leon, one of the most difficult of access in all Spain, contains another dated ivory of supreme significance. This is a reliquary, made to contain the celebrated jaw of St. John the Baptist, but actually used for other relics. The gold and precious stones were stripped off by the French during the Napole-

body of the saint ought to be removed to a more fitting resting place. All the monks were filled with immense joy at this idea, but they felt that so grave a step should not be taken without the consent of the king. This was given and the king, Don Sancho el Mayor (abdicated 1034), appointed a day for the translation. Meanwhile he ordered his workmen to prepare an arca adorned with gems (*artificibus interim arcam gemmis intextam parari precepit*). On the appointed day he proceeded to the abbey accompanied by four bishops—Julio of Oca, Munio of Álava, Mancio of Huesca, and Sancho of Nájera. With the utmost reverence the relics were gathered and placed in a silver arca, and this arca in turn was placed on the high altar (*summa cum reverentia artus cineresque reliquiarum coligentes in arcam argenteam recondunt, arcamque deducentes et super altare locantes*). And all the populace, as the means of each permitted, offered one gold, another silver, another a precious stone, and some even the skins of goats. All this happened on April 13, 1030.

On the strength of this text the existing ivories have been ascribed to 1030. The reason for believing that they are really somewhat later will presently appear.

The facts related in the *Translatio* are confirmed by a charter of Sancho I, cited in a document of 1246 in which the king states: *coniunctus itaque mihi venerabilis viris Sancio Naiarensis, Juliano Aucense, Munione Alauen., et Mancio Osen. epis. cum multis regni viris optimatibus, eccliam. S. Emiliani adij; et peracto ibi tri-duano ieiunio, venerabile corpus eius de vili adhuc quo detinebatur sepulchro per manus religiosorum monachorum ac clericorum dnj. loculo arce sibi a me preparato diligenter est traslatum*. The document is dated 1030 (*Indice* 246). The same facts are also referred to in a charter extant in a copy with erroneous date, but which is believed to be of 1043, granted by Don Garcia Sanchez (*Indice* 246).

The *Translatio* continues that Sancho died and was succeeded by his son Garcia. The latter founded the church of S. Maria of Nájera from the spoils of the Saracens which God had given into his hands. For the greater honor of this church he sought to place there the bodies of the saints existing in the neighborhood. Therefore summoning the bishops Sancho of Pamplona, Garcia of Álava, and Gomessano, bishop of Nájera and Old Castile, with a great concourse of people he went to the church of S. Millán de Susu. And after vigils and prayers, on May 28, 1053, in the abbacy of Gonzalez, he lifted the arca from the altar and started to carry it to Nájera. As great as was the joy of those who were taking it away was the sorrow of the monks who remained. But God disposed the matter otherwise than the king had imagined. For when those carrying the arca had started on their journey and had come rejoicing into the valley, suddenly the arca stopped motionless and could not be moved. And it is also said that when a second time those of Nájera attempted to carry

the arca away they were attacked and driven off by the men of Oiacaastro. The king then, making necessity his pleasure, summoned workmen, and ordered the construction of another church in honor of the Virgin, like that of Nájera, and commanded that work should not be stopped until it was finished and the body of S. Millán honorably placed in it. And he made sufficient gifts to the monks and commanded that the monastery should be transferred from the old church of Susu to the new church of Yusu.

Besides the *Translatio* two other sources speak of the translation of 1053. One was seen in an ancient book by Sandoval, who copied it (S. Millán, 27 v.); the book, he says, was in his time about five hundred years old, which would make it of the beginning of the twelfth century. It related the fact of the translation, with the same date, but added the detail that the relics were kept in the infirmary of the monks until the completion of the new church. The translation is also recorded in a note added by a twelfth or thirteenth century hand to an ancient Bible of S. Millán, now in the Academia de Historia at Madrid, MS. 39, folio 4 v.

The *Translatio* continues that fourteen years later, when the new church had been completed and a beautiful arca built of gold and ivory and adorned with precious stones, the body of S. Millán was placed in this arca by the abbot Blas (*arca auri eborisque miro opere fabricata, gemmisque preciosis per totum intexta, beati Emiliani corpus ab abbate Blasio ibi est reconditum*) and carried in 1067 to the church where it is now venerated.

Since the ivories which still survive must have belonged to the arca which the writer Fernando saw and which this text shows he believed had been made before the translation of 1067, it is necessary to study this passage with care.

The fact of the translation in 1067 is confirmed by two other sources. One was in an old book seen and copied by Sandoval (S. Millán, 28 v.), and gives succinctly the fact of the translation of the relics from the infirmary to the Iglesia de Yusu in 1067. The second is a continuation of the notice in the Bible cited above and states: *Era MCV ex infirmaria*.

That the final translation really took place in 1067 seems therefore probable. A difficulty with the account in the *Translatio* is the statement that it was made by the abbot Blas. For according to the catalogue of the abbots compiled by Sandoval (S. Millán, 63 v) the abbot Pedro III is mentioned by documents as being in office in 1061, 1062, 1064, and 1068. He appears as living in an authentic document of 1065 in the Madrid archives. According to Sandoval this abbot did not die until 1070, when he was succeeded by Blas. Therefore Blas could not have been abbot when the relics were translated in 1067, and could not at least in the quality of abbot have made the arca and placed the relics in it at that date.



onic occupation; however, the ivories remain. The casket was fortunately seen and described while still intact by Morales, who copied, and thus preserved for us, the inscription: *Arcula Sanctorum micat haec sub honore duorum Baptistae Sancti Joannis*,

Let us hasten to add that the authority of Sandoval's list of abbots is no more unimpeachable than Fernando's narrative as a historical source. Sandoval based his catalogue on documents the dates of which he might easily have misread, or which he may have seen in inaccurate copies. There is therefore genuine embarrassment to know which source to follow. Yepes in his catalogue seems to agree with Sandoval; he puts Pedro 1061–1070 and Blas 1070–1080 (Fray Antonio de Yepes, *Cronica general de la orden de San Benito*, Valladolid, Fernandez, 1617, 4 to., I, p. 264).

It is suggested in a manuscript of no great antiquity preserved in the abbey (a fact kindly communicated to me by the abbot) that there were perhaps in the eleventh century two abbots, one in the Iglesia de Susu and the other in the Iglesia de Yusu; that thus both Pedro and Blas might have been abbots in 1067 and the *Translatio* correct. This however does not seem to be proved.

If it be true that Blas did not become abbot until 1070, the arca could not have been finished until that year. For one of the ivories still extant represents that abbot and bears the inscription: BLASIVS ABBA HVI OPERIS EFFECTOR.

There is reason to suspect that so important a work as this arca required considerable time for execution and that if it was not finished until 1070 or later it was begun much earlier.

Sandoval's description makes it clear that there were represented upon it a great number of persons who had doubtless contributed for its construction. Among these was the abbot Pedro (1061–1070), *Petrus Abba*. He was in the same compartment with another monk named *Munius*. A certain SUPPLEX MVNIO SCRIBA POLLITOR is also represented in one of the extant fragments, symmetrically with the abbot Blas. The arca indeed recorded several donors of this common name: *Munio procer*, *Munio refectorarius*, *Presbyter Munio*, *Munio clauicularius*. Still another Munio represented was a child with the schoolmaster Sancho; Sandoval's description says: *Despues deste, otro en pie con una pluma, o puntero en la mano, y muchas cabezitas de niños frente del, uno descubre medio cuerpo e pie y las manos puestas: y la letra dize: Saccius magister Munio infans*.

In addition to the two abbots there were represented on the arca several royal personages whose dates give help in establishing the chronology. On the main face, kneeling before the *Majestas Domini*, was represented a king with the inscription, *Sanccius Rex supradictus*. And opposite was a queen with the legend, *Diuae memoriae Placentinae Reginae*. Sandoval believed that this Sancho was not Sancho el Mayor, who died in 1035, but his grandson, the son of Don García of Nájera (died 1054). In this he was doubtless correct, for I have seen in the Archivo Nacional of Madrid a donation made in 1065 by *Sanccius rex* to the abbot Pedro and S. Millán. Elsewhere on the arca was represented *Ranimirus Rex* and *Apparitio scholastico*. This Ramiro was perhaps the

brother and rival of Don García of Nájera. Other donors represented on the arca were the count Gonzalez and his wife the countess Sancia, and another Gonzalez, *Gundesaluus eques illustri memoria*, and his wife, *Auria nobilis foemina iuuamen afferens*. Many monks of the abbey were represented: *Gomessanus praepositus*, *Onus aemerus*, *Ezinarius notator*, and a monk teaching a child, *Dominicus infantium magister*. Sandoval believed that this was S. Domingo of Silos, who was a monk at Cogolla before he went to Silos (1041). The identification however does not seem to be certain.

Of particular interest was a series of reliefs representing the making of the ivories of the arca. First there was the acquisition of the elephant's tusk, a man on horseback with three unmounted men lifting the tusk and the inscription which Sandoval was able to read only in part: *Garsias . . . Vigilanus negotiator. Petrus col. Collegae omnes*. If the name Garsias referred to the man on horseback and he was the king Don García of Nájera who died in 1054, the ivory for the arca was bought before this date. That however is doubtful.

Another relief showed two men, one old, the other young. The old man held a chisel in his hand and worked upon what Sandoval describes as a shield; the inscription was partially read by Sandoval: . . . (*magis*) *tro et Rodolpho filio*. Here were then the ivory-carver and his son Rodolfo at work.

Still a third relief showed two figures: one held a hammer and a pair of pincers, and in the pincers a nail; the other, who appeared to be a boy, held a piece of ivory, and was labeled *Simone discipulo*. I suppose these were the goldsmiths who set the ivory sculptures into the arca.

The arca as it used to appear is represented in the predella of a painting, the altarpiece of the westernmost chapel on the south side of the Iglesia de Yusu. It is seen to have been rectangular with a sloping lid, like a sarcophagus, and supplied with four poles by which it could be carried. The existing arca reproduces then fairly accurately the shape of the original.

In the center of the front face was the *Majestas Domini* adored by Sancho and Placentia. On the sides were scenes from the life of S. Millán. Sandoval describes these and gives a copy of the inscriptions. I append the inscriptions indicating by asterisks (and capitals) those still extant at S. Millán.

On the first side, above:

- (1a) *Futurus pastor hominum, erat pastor ouium*
- (1b) *Ubi eremum petiit montis distertij*
- (2a) *Ubi Didimo Episcopo Ecclesiam delegauit*
- (2b) *Ubi eum praefati clerici incusauerunt*
- (3a) *De manicis suae tunicae*
- (3b) *De pallio pauperibus erogato*
- (4a) *De Maximi filia energumena liberata*
- (4b) *Per eius baculum haec cloda sanatur*
- (5a)\* *IRRISIO DIABOLI PRO MULIERIBUS*

*sive Pelagij. Ceu Rex Fernandus Reginaque Santia fieri iussit. Era millena septena seu nonagena* (that is A.D. 1059).<sup>7</sup>

This new authentic monument of the middle of the eleventh century at Leon confirms all that we had gathered from the cross of Fernando, the arca of S. Millan, the Jaca book cover. He who runs may now read that ivory-carving in Spain was in fact during the eleventh century extraordinarily accomplished and that it shows the characteristics believed to have been invented by the sculptors of Toulouse fifty or more years later. It is unnecessary to insist upon the fine workmanship of the S. Isidoro reliquary, since the reader has photographs before his eyes (Figs. 2 and 3). It is perhaps almost equally superfluous to point out that the motive of apostles standing under arches, a theme as old as the Early Christian sarcophagi, is the one which reappears in 1100 in the celebrated cloister of Moissac (Fig. 1), a work which shows many indications both of Spanish influence and of having been copied from ivory-carving;<sup>8</sup> it seems therefore evident that these sculptures belong to a cycle which opens with the

(5b)\* CONLUCTATIO DEMONIS C̄V EMI-  
LIANO

(6a)\* UBI SICORII ANCILLA ILLU-  
MINATUR AB IPSO

(6b)\* UBI VALE FACIT POST RECEPTAM  
SALUTEM

On the first side, below:

(1)\* SCS ASELLUS, SCS EMILIANUS, SCS  
ERONCIUS ET SOFRONIUS

(2a) Ubi lignum creuit per eius orationem

(2b) Ubi magistri horrei resident ad prādendum

(3)\* DE DEMONE EXPULSO A DOMO  
HONORII SENATORIS  
PARPALINENSIS

(4a)\* DE EIUS CABALLO A LATRONIBUS  
SUBLATO

(4b)\* UBI POST OCULORUM AMISSIONEM  
ANIMAL REDUCUNT ET SATIS-  
FACIUNT

(5a)\* (DUM IACET) INCENDUNT

(5b)\* DUM SURGIT SE QUOQUE CEDUNT

On the second side, above:

(1) De puella parvula quae ad eius oratorium  
exanimis \*DELATA STATIM EST  
RESUSCITATA

(2a)\* DE DUOBUS CECIS ILLUMINATIS

(2b)\* DE CANDELA DIUNITUS IMPLETA

(3a)\* DE DIACONO QUODAM ENER-  
GUMINE SANATO

(3b)\* POST RECEPTA SALUTE VALE FACIT  
HIC

(4a)\* UBI CURAT MULIERE PARALITICA

(4b)\* VALEFACTIO NOMINE BARBARA

(5a) De Armētario monacho sanato

(5b) Vale faciunt se hic

(6a)\* UBI VENIT AD SC̄M FELICEM  
BILIBIENSEM

(6b)\* UBI IN EUM DIVINITUS IRRUIT  
SOPOR

On the second side, below:

(1) Maestas clara sole orto et Luna

(2a)\* DE EXEDIO CANTABRIE AB EODEM  
NUNCIATO

(2b)\* UBI LEOUGILDO REGE CANTABROS  
OSSIDI

(3a)\* HIC DICITIS NIHIL SUPERESSE. HIC  
XPISTU IMPLORAT

(3b)\* DE ADVENTANTIUM DAPIBUS  
(SUBITO AUCTIS)

(4a)\* UBI DE SUO EI TRANSITO REVELA-  
TUM EST

(4b)\* UBI A RELIGIOSIS UIRIS CORPUS  
EIUS UMATUM EST

(5a)\* DE PARUII UINI MULTITUDINE  
HOMINUM SATIATA

(5b)\* REITERATIO MIRACULI UT SUPRA  
EN ALIA UICE

7. Ambrosio de Morales, *Viage santo* (1572), *Dale a luz Henriqu. Flores*, Madrid, Marin, 1765, 4to., p. 48. The existence of the monument was first called to my attention by a photograph which Don Manuel Gómez-Moreno gave me in January, 1923. It is reproduced and described in a booklet by Julio Pérez Llamazares, *El Tesoro de la R. Colegiata de S. Isidoro de León*, León, Libreria Religiosa, s. d., p. 129. I am indebted to Mr. Graham Stevens, the Cardinal Merry del Val, the Bishop of Leon, and the Abbot of S. Isidoro for permission to study and photograph the treasure of S. Isidoro.

8. Porter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204. There is also, I feel, something German in the cloisters of Moissac. Compare the Durandus (Illustrated *ibid.* IV, pl. 262) with the St. Herhardus of the Uta Codex, Munich, lat. 13601.





FIG. 1—*Moissac, Cloister: St. Bartholomew. 1100*

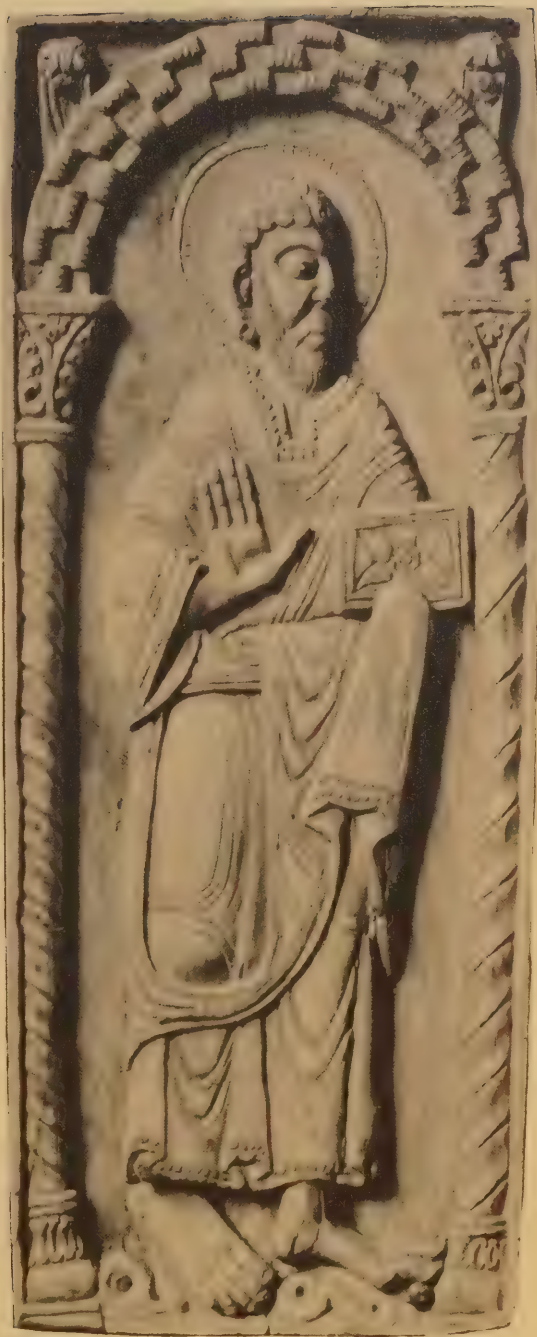


FIG. 2—*Leon, S. Isidoro: Reliquary of St. John the Baptist. An Apostle. 1059*



FIG. 3—Leon, *S. Isidoro*: Reliquary of St. John the Baptist. Detail. 1059



FIG. 4—Leon, *S. Isidoro*, Pantebn: Balaam Capital. Eleventh Century



S. Isidoro reliquary, includes the apostles of Toulouse, and closes with those of the cloister of Oviedo.

The publication of the tomb of Alfonso (died 1093), the son of the celebrated Pedro Assurez, is another of the surprises which Gómez-Moreno's book has in store for the archaeological world. This monument (Figs. 5, 6, 7, and 8) turned up three years ago in the local cemetery at Sahagún, where it had been used to mark a recent grave. Although published in a newspaper of Madrid, it has remained virtually unknown. The inscription, partly extant, partly preserved in the not always accurate copy of Sandoval,<sup>9</sup> leaves no doubt that this is indeed the lid of the sarcophagus of Alfonso Assurez which in the seventeenth century was still to be seen in the crossing of the abbey. As a dated monument of 1093 it is of great importance. It shows us that in the last decade of the eleventh century, before the art of sculpture, as far as we can judge, had appeared in Languedoc, it was being practiced at Sahagún. With the sarcophagus of Doña Sancha at Jaca,<sup>10</sup> the capitals of Frómista, those of the Panteón of S. Isidoro of Leon (Fig. 4), and the sculptures of Corullon (1093-1099)—the last two other breath-taking announcements of this amazing book of Gómez-Moreno—we find the art of sculpture in stone flourishing across the whole of Spain, from Aragon to Galicia, before it appeared at Toulouse. As Gómez-Moreno recognizes, this sculpture at Sahagún is distinctly Spanish; the square bent bodies of the angels come directly from manuscripts of the tenth century. The letters of the inscription are also more uncial than any I know in southern France of the end of the eleventh century. There the lettering of inscriptions as compared with Spain seems to have been *retardataire*. To cite a case in point, the uncial M appears in Spanish inscriptions during the last third of the eleventh century, whereas the Roman M is still used exclusively in many French inscriptions even of an advanced period of the twelfth century. Uncial M's are already found in the ivories of S. Millán de la Cogolla of about 1070. That form of uncial M of which the first loop is completely closed is found in the inscription of the tomb of Godo, from Arlanza, now in the cloisters of the cathedral of Burgos and dating from 1075. This form of uncial M, as indeed all uncial letters, is found abundantly in manuscripts from an early date. The uncial M with closed first loop is found in France in the capitals of Cluny, 1087-1095, which are evidently copied from a manuscript. M. Deschamps is wide of the mark in claiming that this form did not appear in French epigraphy until the middle of the twelfth century. The uncial letters which became characteristic of the twelfth century and began to appear in inscriptions about 1070 came from manuscripts, and were probably first introduced by sculptors who copied manuscripts;<sup>11</sup> certain uncial letters, however, E, H, and D, seem always to have been

9. *Op. cit.*, Sahagún, p. 74.

10. *Burlington Magazine*, XLV, 1924, p. 165.

11. The uncial M of the Sahagún tomb is of a peculiar type similar to the uncial M of the Silos inscription

and never used, so far as I am aware, in the twelfth century—an additional argument for the eleventh century date of Silos.

used in Spanish epigraphy. Another change which took place in inscriptions about the beginning of the twelfth century was that the letters, usually very tall in the eleventh century, became much broader in proportion to their height. At Silos the letters are still very high, which is typical of the 1070's. But in the Sahagún tomb many of them have already twelfth century proportions. We have probably here again the influence of manuscripts. It is this influence of manuscripts which explains, even more than the rarity of dated French inscriptions, why we find the type of letters known as French earlier in Spanish epigraphy than in French and why we find them earlier in the inscriptions of sculptures like Moissac than in other inscriptions like that of St.-Gilles.

The square-bodied angels of the tomb of Alfonso Assurez, so characteristically Spanish, reappear in Rousillon in the frescoes of St.-Martin-de-Fenouillard, where too they are doubtless derived from Beatus manuscripts. There seem indeed to be many indications that the art of Rousillon in the eleventh century takes its orientation from beyond the Pyrenees. I have tried to show elsewhere that the tympanum of Corneilla-de-Conflent is Aragonese.<sup>12</sup> Capitals of the cloister of St.-Michel-de-Cuxa are of an ultra-Pyrenean type found also in the cloister of Seo d'Urgell and the cathedrals of Jaca and Pisa. Even the patriotic M. Deschamps concedes that the altars of Rousillon show a strong Spanish influence.<sup>13</sup>

The stylistic relationship of the lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines with the stucco antependia of southern Catalonia has been recognized by Margaret Burg.<sup>14</sup> No antependium as ancient as the sculptures of 1020 appears to be extant, but it can hardly be doubted that such in stucco or in metal existed in southern Catalonia and inspired the celebrated portal of Rousillon. The use of horseshoe arches in this monument is a clear indication of Spanish influence.

That an artistic current was flowing from the south to the north, from Spain to Rousillon, is, I think, also indicated by the Catalan Gospels preserved in the library of Perpignan (Fig. 9).<sup>15</sup> Since now at Perpignan, it is not unlikely that the manuscript comes from St.-Michel-de-Cuxa. That is I suppose the reason M. Boinet believed that the book had been written in southern France. It might however have been imported, and the Virgin of folio 14 v is so similar to the Virgin of a manuscript of Ripoll now preserved in the archives of the Crown of Aragon at Barcelona<sup>16</sup> that I wonder if the Perpignan manuscript too was not written at Ripoll. Even if actually executed at Cuxa, the style is indubitably Catalan. This manuscript is of the same school not only

12. *Burlington Magazine*, *loc. cit.* In this article I did not insist so strongly as I might upon the documentary indications for the date of Corneilla. The church was given to Augustinian canons in 1097 (Pietro de Marca, *Marca hispanica*, Parisiis, Muguet, 1688, folio, p. 1197).

13. *Tables d'autel de marbre. Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot*, Paris, Champion, 1925, p. 137.

14. *Ottonische Plastik*, Bonn, Schroeder, 1922, pp. 56, 57.

15. Amédée Boinet, *Notice sur un évangélaire de la Bibliothèque de Perpignan*, in *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 1906, Carcassonne, p. 534.

16. Codex no. 151, folio 154. The miniature in question is illustrated by Rudolf Beer, *Los manuscritos del monasterio de Santa Maria de Ripoll*, *Traducció del Alemany*, Barcelona, Casa de Caritat, 1910, p. 88.





FIG. 5—*Sabagún (Leon), Cemetery: Tomb of Alfonso Assurez. Died 1093*

as the Barcelona book we have mentioned and which Beer ascribes to about the middle of the eleventh century, but also as the two Catalan Bibles, likewise works of the eleventh century, and of which one, the Bible of Farfa, was certainly written at Ripoll, the other probably in the same scriptorium, and surely in Spanish Catalonia.<sup>17</sup> To the same group belong a Moralia of St. Gregory at Vich<sup>18</sup> and the Bede of S. Feliù of Gerona closely related to the Bible of Roda.<sup>19</sup> The Missal at Tortosa might be a later product of the same school. This group of manuscripts shows points of contact with contemporary work in England and Italy, as Dr. Cook has recognized,<sup>20</sup> and to manuscripts of Limoges and northern France like the Parisinus 1654, an observation which I owe to Mr. C. S. Niver. Dr. Cook is also no doubt right in attributing to a Carolingian influence the 8-shaped aureole and other features. But when all is said and done, the artistic style, like the script<sup>21</sup> retains together with northern elements something unmistakably Spanish. So, however we turn it over, the manuscript of Perpignan spells Spanish influence in Rousillon.

Moreover, whatever the book has inherited from the Beatus, I suspect that there is in it also something of Aragon. At least there seem to be points of contact with the miniature of a donation of Pedro I illuminated at S. Juan de la Peña in 1098<sup>22</sup> side by side with an indefinable kinship of feeling with the ivories of the arca of S. Felice at S. Millán de la Cogolla.<sup>23</sup>

Here doubt may not unreasonably arise as to the direction of the influence. The arca of San Felice was made after the translation of the saint in 1090;<sup>24</sup> are the miniatures earlier or later? The manuscript has been ascribed by both M. Boinet and Dr. Cook to the twelfth century, indeed by the latter even to the last part of the twelfth century. M. Boinet notes that the iconography of one of the miniatures, representing the Trinity, is of a type usually found in the thirteenth and later centuries. Iconography is, however, by no means a sure guide in the determination of chronological problems, as M. Boinet seems to recognize. If we followed it blindly, we should have to ascribe the throne of Maximianus and the Ruthwell Cross to the Gothic period, because in both St. John the Baptist is represented carrying a shield with a lamb; and it would have led us to assume that the iconography of the central western tympanum of Chartres was there originated, had it not been for the chance that the same motive was discovered in the frescoes of Bawit, a half millenium earlier. Similar instances could be multiplied. Too great weight should not therefore, I think, be laid upon this argument. I note too that the modern and rather disquieting appearance of the miniatures of the Perpignan

17. Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration*, Bonn, Schroeder, 1922.

18. Illustrated by Walter W. S. Cook in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4, fig. 15.

19. Mr. C. S. Niver calls my attention to the fact that the miniature at the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, folio 371, of the Bede is very similar to the illumination on folio 82 of the Bible of Roda.

20. Walter W. S. Cook, *The Earliest Painted Panels of Catalonia*, in *The Art Bulletin*, V, 4.

21. I am indebted for this observation to Professor E. K. Rand.

22. Illustrated in *Burlington Magazine*, *loc. cit.*

23. Illustrated in Porter, *op. cit.*, VI, pls. 661-664.

24. Sandoval, *op. cit.*, S. Millán, pp. 30 v. f.





FIG. 6



FIG. 7



FIG. 8

*Sabagún (Leon), Cemetery: Tomb of Alfonso Assurez (Died 1093). Portrait of the Deceased and Angels*

book is surely due to retouching, a fact which does not seem to have been before observed.

On the other hand, the closest analogies with this manuscript are to be found in the Catalan Bibles, the Bede of Gerona, and the Ripoll manuscript of Barcelona, all of which seem to be rightly recognized as dating from the eleventh century. The script has been called Visigothic; it might be more correct to describe it as Catalan, but at any rate, it is of the earlier style which was supplanted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by that which the Spaniards call French. The similarities of style between our manuscript and the miniature of Jaca of a donation of Pedro I in 1098 give reason for thinking that the two are about contemporary. The balance of the probabilities seems therefore to be that the Perpignan manuscript dates from the early years of the twelfth century. The influence consequently must have come from Castile and Aragon eastward, not perhaps from the ivories to the miniatures, for that would be unusual, but from some common original in Castile or Leon to both. The type of drawing of this school of manuscript illumination has surely antecedents in Spain (e. g., the reliquary of the Beatitudes from S. Isidoro now in the Madrid Museum),<sup>25</sup> rather than in Rousillon.

Still another analogy between the sculpture of Rousillon and that of Spain seems to show an influence of the latter upon the former. At Cuxa are two jamb sculptures representing St. Peter and St. Paul.<sup>26</sup> These come from the Porte du Monastère and originally stood in the reveals of the jambs, facing each other across the doorway. In other words they are jamb sculptures of the most archaic type, like those of Santiago and Cremona. Were these perhaps the originals from which Santiago was copied?

I think it is hardly likely. The cloister and monastic buildings of Cuxa were no doubt reconstructed after the reform of 1090; but the fortunes of the monastery were then at low ebb; it is improbable that the outer doors should have been built before the twelfth century. The Puerta de las Platerías, on the other hand, is a dated monument of 1103, and was begun earlier.

The fact is one of the very important contributions made by Gómez-Moreno. The inscription of the Puerta de las Platerías (Fig. 10) is familiar. It has been read as indicating the Era ICXVI, or the year 1078, and interpreted as the date at which the cathedral was begun. This reading was however open to a grave objection—the cathedral was not begun in 1078, because a document of 1077 speaks of the new building as already under way.<sup>27</sup> That was the reason that Carro read instead ICXII, or 1074.<sup>28</sup>

25. Illustrated in Porter, *op. cit.*, VI, pls. 651–653.

26. *Ibid.*, V, pl. 556. For St.-Michel-de-Cuxa and its gradual demolition see Ernest Delamont, *Notice sur l'abbaye royale du royal monastère de Saint-Michel de Cuixa*. Published in *Histoire de la ville de Prades*, by the same author, Perpignan, Indépendant, 1878. Also Taylor, Nodier, and Cailleux, *Voyages pittoresques et roman-*

*tiques dans l'ancienne France*, Paris, Didot, 1835, folio, II, pls. 160–163 bis.

27. Zepedano y Carnero, *Historia y descripción arqueológica de la basilica Compostelana*, Lugo, Freire, 1870, 12 mo., p. 313.

28. Jesus Carro Garcia, *La catedral de Santiago tiene influencia arménica?* (*Faro de Vigo*, 25 de Julio de 1925).



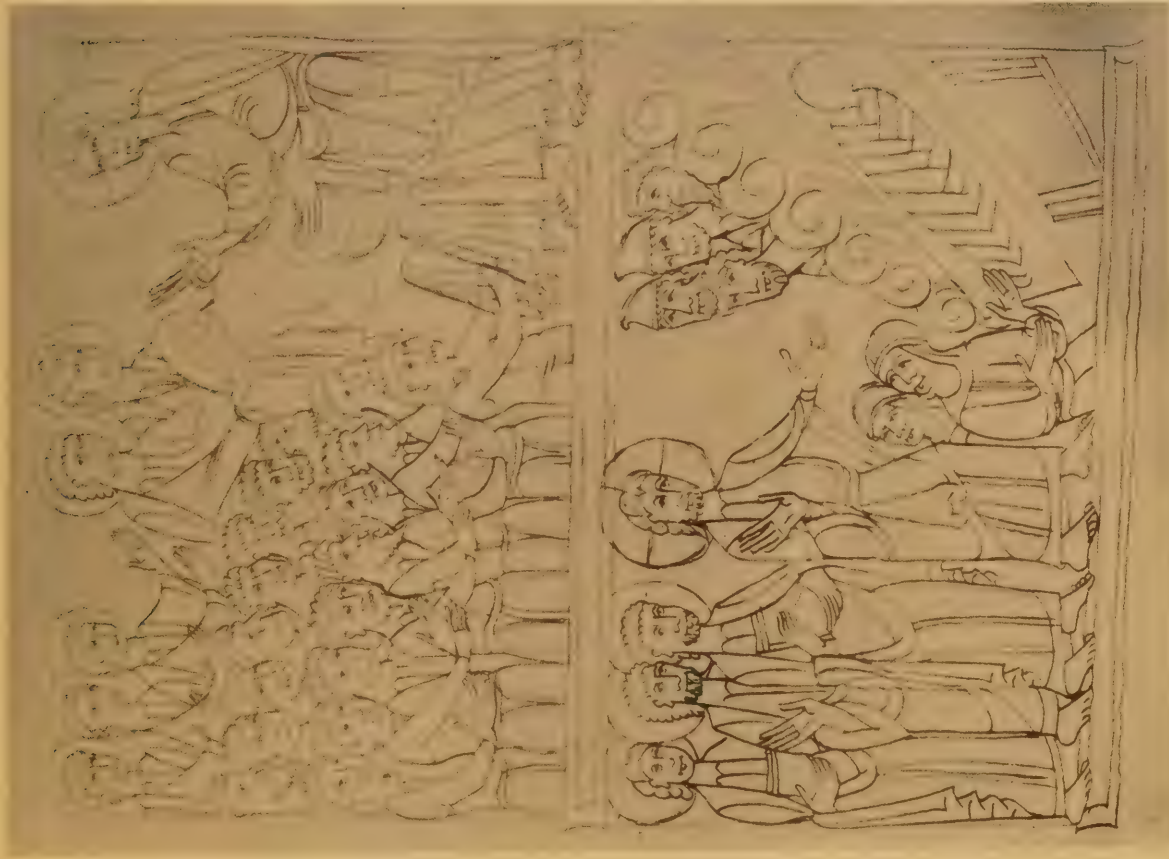


FIG. 9—Perpignan, Library: Gospels. Folio 107 v. Miracle of the  
Loaves and Fishes; Resurrection of Lazarus



FIG. 10—Santiago, Calbedral: Inscription on the Puerta  
de las Platerías. 1103

The reading 1074 has this to be said in its favor: it agrees with one of the five different dates indicated for this event in the Book of St. James and the *Historia Compostellana*.<sup>29</sup> However, the correct reading seems to be, as Gómez-Moreno points out, ICXLI,<sup>30</sup> or 1103, and it indicates not the year when the cathedral was begun but that when the Puerta de las Platerías was finished. That it was begun before is indicated not only by the analogous sculptures in the south portal of S. Isidoro of Leon, which Gómez-Moreno shows date from the eleventh century, but by the fact that it is copied in the sculptures of Corullon, dated 1093-1099 by inscriptions.

It seems, therefore, entirely probable that the jamb sculptures of Cuxa are derived from Santiago, and this is reasonable. At the beginning of the twelfth century Cuxa was in decline while Santiago was at the apex of glory, one of the wealthiest and most important churches in the world.

On the whole, art seems to have flowed from Spain into Rousillon as steadily and overwhelmingly as it did from Spain into Toulouse. It is true that Rousillon can boast earlier monuments than Toulouse, or, for that matter, than Spain itself. The sculptured lintel of St.-Genis-des-Fontaines, of 1020, and those of St.-André-de-Sorrède and Arles-sur-Tech show that here sculpture flourished in the first half of the eleventh century. Have we then here, rather than in Toulouse or Spain, the generating center of Romanesque sculpture?

I think not. As I have shown elsewhere, sculpture in stone was practiced not only in the Pyrenees during the first half of the eleventh century.<sup>31</sup> Senyor Puig i Cadafalch has been showing us how Catalan architecture in the eleventh century permeated southern France and reached as far as the Seine valley.<sup>32</sup> Throughout the entire eleventh and part of the twelfth century the great current of art in Europe was moving from the south to the north. We shall never understand the Romanesque of northern Europe until we know that of Italy and Spain. A new light upon the latter is thrown by the brilliant new book of Gómez-Moreno.

29. 1073, 1074, 1075, 1078, and 1082. See King, *The Way of St. James*, New York, Putnam, 1920, III, p. 48.

30. L is written in precisely this manner on the tomb of the bishop Naustia in the church of S. Andrea de Trobe, two leagues from Santiago. See Huebner, *In-*

*scriptiones Hispaniae christianae*, Berolini, Reimerum, 1871, 4to.

31. Porter, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 18 ff.

32. Unpublished lectures delivered at Harvard University, 1926.



# ROMANESQUE BAROQUE

By JOSÉ PIJOAN

IT is becoming more and more clear that every school of art is a cycle of the human soul, with its ideas and forms passing through a process of evolution. After the very simple, schematic results of one or two generations of primitive artists, every school reaches a period of maturity, when the ideas are expressed with perfection, elegance, and clearness; finally, there comes a period when the same forms and ideas decay, degenerate, and mix themselves in unnecessary complication. The critics of the last century, from Hegel to Taine, distinguished very well these three stages in the evolution of art in general, but perhaps they did not fully enough appreciate that every school passes through the same periods: growth, maturity, and decadence. Those critics seem to have believed that, except in certain cases, it is the mental disposition of a people, rather than the evolution of their tastes, that explains the different styles of art. They said, for example, that some peoples, as the Egyptians, were naturally inclined to styles rational and geometric, whereas others, as the Greeks, had a special gift for the interpretation of nature and derived their art from the beauty that is concealed in all natural things. Finally, these critics said that another class of peoples, as the Hindus, found pleasure only in a multiplicity of lines and figures that was achieved by crowding the forms together with no apparent reason and with no resemblance to nature. Hegel called the first type of art "symbolic," the second, "classic," and the third, "romantic." In the vocabulary of today the equivalent terms are "geometric," "naturalistic," and "baroque."

There is scarcely any people or school that has not passed through a period of geometric tastes in art. This is a constructive period, in which the motives are not only simplified but are also independent: pleasure is found in an art based on simplification of line. Force and clear meaning are striven for instead of beauty. In many cases this tendency is not so primitive as we might think. It may be a reaction against a previous school which was too involved and sophisticated. For when the threefold cycle has run its course from the geometric through the naturalistic to the baroque it begins all over again. For example, we know that Giotto was not so unaffected and childlike as was thought thirty years ago. His art, simple, almost geometric (symbolic, as Hegel would say), was hailed by Dante not only for its pathos but also for its contrast to the intricate works of the Byzantines. In the modern schools of painting postimpressionism is a most necessary reaction to the sentimentality of the landscape painters of the late nineteenth century. With Cézanne a new tendency seems to appear. Thank God, the geometric period of the art of the twentieth century seems to be passing!

We are now prepared to find in every school of art three stages of growth: geometric, naturalistic, and baroque. Sometimes one of these three periods is so rich that the other



FIG. 1

Oviedo, Cathedral: Pages from the "Book of Testaments." Twelfth Century

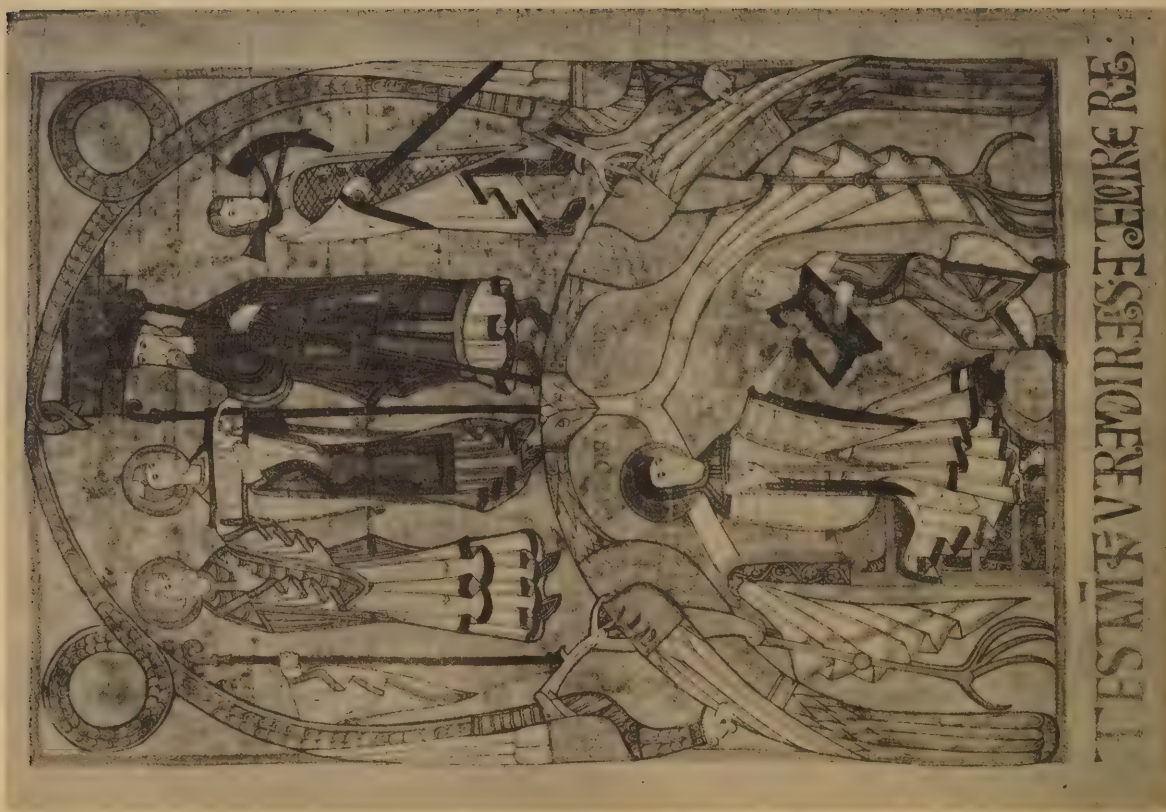


FIG. 2





FIG. 3

Oviedo, Cathedral: Pages from the "Book of Testaments." Twelfth Century

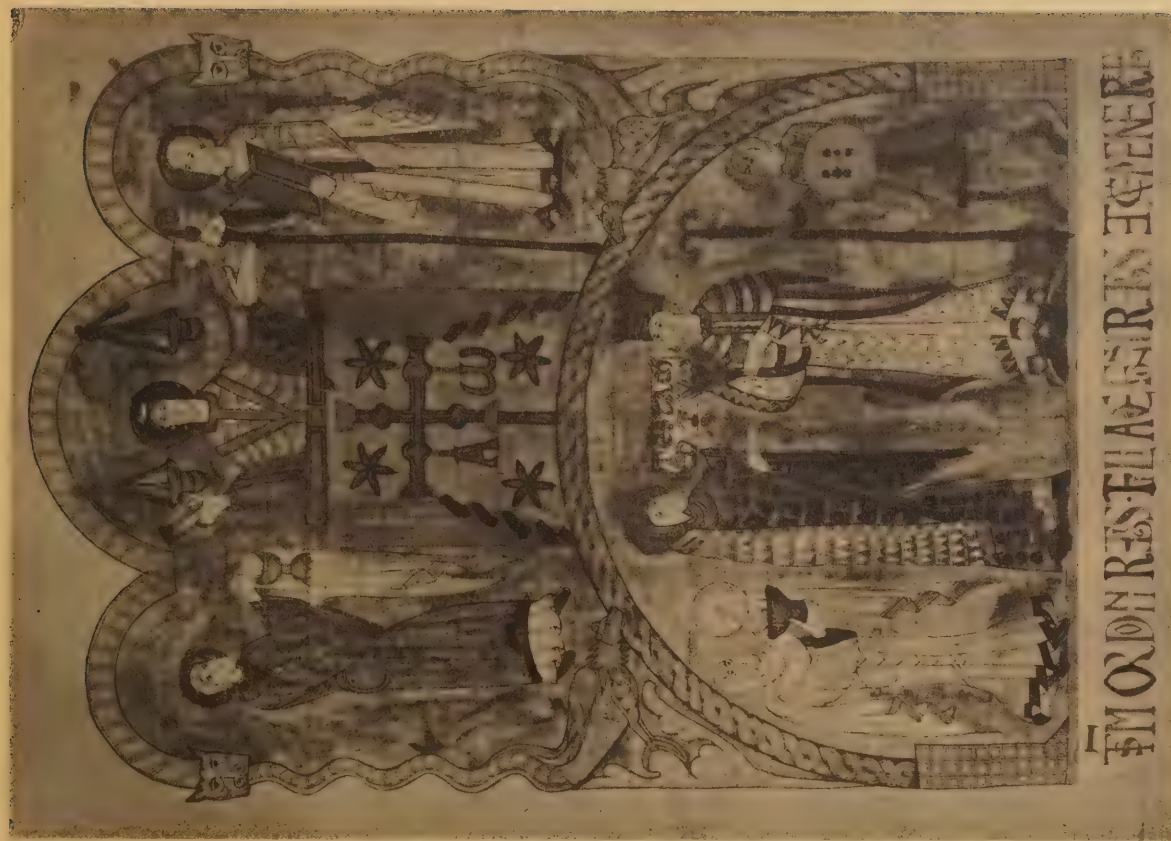


FIG. 4

two seem to be but a preparation and a decadence. When, with a little care, we can distinguish the evolution of taste in a particular school of art, we shall realize that many baroque works are not so decadent as it would appear at first glance.

It used to be thought that the Romanesque, the art of the tenth to twelfth centuries, was inherently primitive, symbolic, or geometric. Now we know that towards the end of its evolution it grew complicated and that it accumulated forms seemingly without logic or plan. Baroque art can be defined as the style that uses elements in a way in which they were not originally intended to be used, and as the style that is characterized by the unmethodical, though skillful, accumulation of these elements. As we find these baroque characteristics in the Romanesque art of the twelfth century, we must recognize that the Romanesque, after the Carolingian renaissance, began by being geometric, became naturalistic, and ended in a romantic baroque.

We are reproducing here a few of the illustrations of the so-called Book of Testaments in the cathedral of Oviedo (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4, and the cover design of this magazine). The subjects are Asturian royalty and prelates of the ninth century, though these manuscript illuminations were done in the twelfth century. According to the principles of all schools in their periods of decadence, a mixture of elements is used to secure an effect of richness and abundance. We see elaborate draperies, beasts holding arches, birds of large size bending themselves in a manner that suggests a kind of chamber, and other strange forms used in place of columns. Yet it is not so much the monstrous shapes that are characteristic of this Romanesque baroque style as it is the way in which these shapes are heaped up in confusion. They do not in the least aim at the production of a realistic effect nor at the imitation of nature. They aim rather to startle us and to grip us by their quantity and variety. Paradoxically the abundance of lines and details is offset and excused by a certain generalization like that of ingenuous primitives.

We find in this twelfth century art the same means as those used by the baroque architects and decorators of the expiring Renaissance. We may even say that the same laws of error and the same charms that appear in this period of decadence appear in the corresponding period of every school of art.

What has been said of Romanesque miniatures is equally applicable to mural paintings and architecture. The ornamental sculpture of the twelfth century churches like Moissac and Souillac is likewise crowded with forms that originally had other meaning. The laws of complication affect the whole output of every art drawing towards its close. Vanvitelli and Bernini, the great masters of the baroque art of Italy in the seventeenth century, differed from the artists of the Romanesque baroque not in spirit but only in the forms employed.



## REVIEWS

HISTORIA DEL ARTE EN TODOS LOS TIEMPOS Y PUEBLOS. By Karl Woermann. TOMO SEXTO. Traducción de la segunda edición alemana. Completado con un Apéndice sobre el Arte español contemporáneo por Román Loredó y Manuel Abril. (Pp. 593-756) Madrid, Editorial Saturnino Calleja, 1925.

EL GRECO. By Elizabeth Du Gue Trapier. 186 pp. The Hispanic Society of America, 1925.

HERE are two books deserving the attention of students of Spanish art. The little book on El Greco—a volume in the series of *Hispanic Notes & Monographs*—makes relatively slight contributions to our knowledge and understanding of El Greco. It gives a convenient summary of the accepted facts, but it will be overshadowed by A. L. Mayer's new and monumental work, so that at best it will take the place of *El Greco* by A. F. Calvert and C. G. Hartley, as the most recent general discussion available to one who reads only English.

The other book, however, offers organized information on contemporary Spanish art, from the beginning of the nineteenth century up to the present day, that might easily be overlooked. It is to be had in a separate volume in the Spanish translation of Woermann's history of art and gives us a systematic statement of much that was heretofore to be sought in such places as *Artistas españoles contemporáneos* by Ballesteros de Martos and the annual reviews put out by José Francés.

Like Woermann's history, the appendices treating of recent Spanish architecture, sculpture, and painting are chronological statements of fact, bristling with the names of artists and the titles of their works.

The section on architecture is written by Román Loredó. It outlines the eighteenth century antecedents of architecture in Spain, and illustrates the prevalence of an uninteresting eclecticism until near the end of the nineteenth century. To the general student of architecture the pages on Catalonia and the eastern provinces will be among the most valuable. Nowhere has sturdy local patriotism, so-called regionalism, combined with a determined striving for originality and independence to produce more remarkable results. It is significant that these efforts proceeded from the local academy of fine arts, reorganized in 1817 by the Chamber of Commerce, and not primarily under official auspices. The mediaeval reminiscences of some architects of this school are highly successful, and in the work of Antonio Gaudí may be seen an extreme example of the impressionist and individualist with whom there are few parallels in the history of the building art.

Sculpture is handled in a short discussion by Manuel Abril. With a few striking exceptions, and those mainly in very recent years, the peninsula has not excelled in that field. However, the continuous predilection of Spaniards for tangible realities and the

current growth in popularity of sculpture for domestic enjoyment, hold promise of even finer sculpture than that produced lately by Mateo Hernández, Julio Antonio, Victorio Macho, and "Manolo."

Manuel Abril also covers painting in this volume. He finds four dominant tendencies during the nineteenth century: the tradition of Goya; neoclassicism; personal reactions against foreign influence; and a continuation of eighteenth century currents, mainly of Italian origin. After that comes a reflection on a smaller scale, but often with heightened intensity, of the cosmopolitan trends which Paris brought to a focus. Summaries of the situation are given by Abril, presenting personalities and talents such as those of Julio Romero de Torres, José Gutiérrez Solana, Ramón and Valentín Zubiaurre, Gustavo de Maeztu, Daniel Vázquez Díaz, and Pablo Picasso.

The bibliographies of these appendices are not so comprehensive as they should be. But the outlines drawn up by Manuel Abril and Román Loredó meet a long-felt need, leaving for the future the production of a history characterized by critical insight and complete scholarly technique.

A. PHILIP McMAHON

DIEGO VELAZQUEZ. *By August L. Mayer. 215 pp.; 115 figs. Berlin, Propyläen-Verlag, 1924.*

IN the dedication of this book to Heinrich Wölfflin, his former teacher, Mayer expressed its character: we find in it that study of composition, particularly space problems, which in the hands of Wölfflin was carried to such perfection as to make of his well known book *Die klassische Kunst* a classic of art criticism.

Mayer devotes a brief section at the beginning of the book to a sketch of the life of Velasquez. An equally brief section at the close of the book gives a summary of the chief features of the art of Velasquez, measures his influence, and compares him with his contemporaries. The body of the book is taken up with the pictures of Velasquez, discussed one after another in approximately chronological order but with such a facile and narrative commentary that the reader is barely aware that a catalogue of the painter's work is being presented.

Americans will naturally be interested to see what Mayer has to say in regard to the authenticity and date of pictures in America. The representation of Velasquez on this side of the Atlantic is fairly impressive. Mayer's list seems to be about as follows:

Seville:

The Laughing Vintager, Boston, Bartlett Collection

The Supper at Emmaus, New York, Metropolitan Museum

St. John the Baptist, Chicago, Lent to the Art Institute



# The Art Bulletin

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AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY PUBLISHED BY THE

College Art Association  
of America

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Volume VIII

September, 1925—June, 1926





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Madrid before the first trip to Italy:

Truhan, New York, Private Possession

Philip IV, New York, Metropolitan Museum (1624). (This is evidently Mayer's intention. He confuses the present location of this picture with that of the other Villahermosa Velasquez.)

Olivares, New York, Hispanic Society (*c.* 1626)

Madrid between the two trips to Italy:

Baltasar Carlos with Dwarf, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (1631)

Portrait of a Man, Montreal, Van Horne Collection (*c.* 1632)

Philip IV, New York, Frick Collection (Fraga, 1644)

Head of a Girl, New York, Hispanic Society (*c.* 1645)

Cardinal Pamphili, New York, Hispanic Society (1644-1647)

Madrid after the second trip to Italy:

Maria Teresa, New York, Lehman Collection (1651)

Maria Teresa, New York, Lent to the Metropolitan Museum (*p.* 1653)

Portrait of a Man, New York, Senff Collection

Portrait of a Girl, New York, Willis Collection

Of pictures in America there are relegated to the category of studio pieces and copies a number of portraits, especially of Maria Anna and of Maria Teresa.

In sketching the life of Velasquez Mayer lays emphasis on the nobleman's point of view always maintained by the painter, and on the consequently non-commercial character of his painting. Emphasized also is the ambition of Velasquez to supervise, even at the sacrifice of his time, convenience, and some personal opportunities, the decoration of the royal palace.

Mayer conceives the development of the style of Velasquez as a steady growth the fruit of which was fundamentally affected by the two sojourns in Italy: though Velasquez was no Italianizer, Italian influence was essential to the formation of the Velasquez we know. The best part of Mayer's book is the tracing from picture to picture of the evolution of the painter's style. The frequent echoes of Hildebrand's aesthetics strike the reader forcibly. No one can read Mayer's treatment of the Surrender of Breda without envying the fluency with which he writes—if he does write: the book seems rather dictated than written, and to this may be due the reader's occasional feeling that if the book were compressed, if some of the fluency were squeezed out of it, it would be better. It is however precisely this looseness, this lessened demand on the reader's faculty of concentration that makes Mayer's monograph, in spite of the unfortunate lack of a bibliography, an excellent introduction to the study of Velasquez, popular and yet trustworthy.

In the last section of his book Mayer defends the thesis that Velasquez is the most

“classic” master of the “classic” century of painting, the seventeenth century. It need hardly be noted that “classic” is here used in a sense, common in German but not in English, analogous to our use of the word in speaking of literary classics. The substance of what Mayer has to say in this connection is that Velasquez consistently expressed the ideals of nobility and beauty current in the society in which he moved. Mayer does well to point out the emptiness of the oft repeated dictum that Velasquez was an impressionist. He also does well to show how much more than a portrait painter Velasquez was and to explain, for the needed enlightenment of those who imagine that Whistler and Manet caught most of what was valuable in the Spaniard’s art, that mastery of space and movement without which Velasquez could not have been a great artist of the baroque period.

This book belongs to a series of monographs, *Die führenden Meister*, which seems likely to become as the number of its volumes increases a great convenience to those who seek a ready way to acquaint themselves with the present status of the study and criticism of the leading masters. If the publishers are able to maintain the standard set by this volume in text and illustrative accompaniment their undertaking deserves success.

JOHN SHAPLEY



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